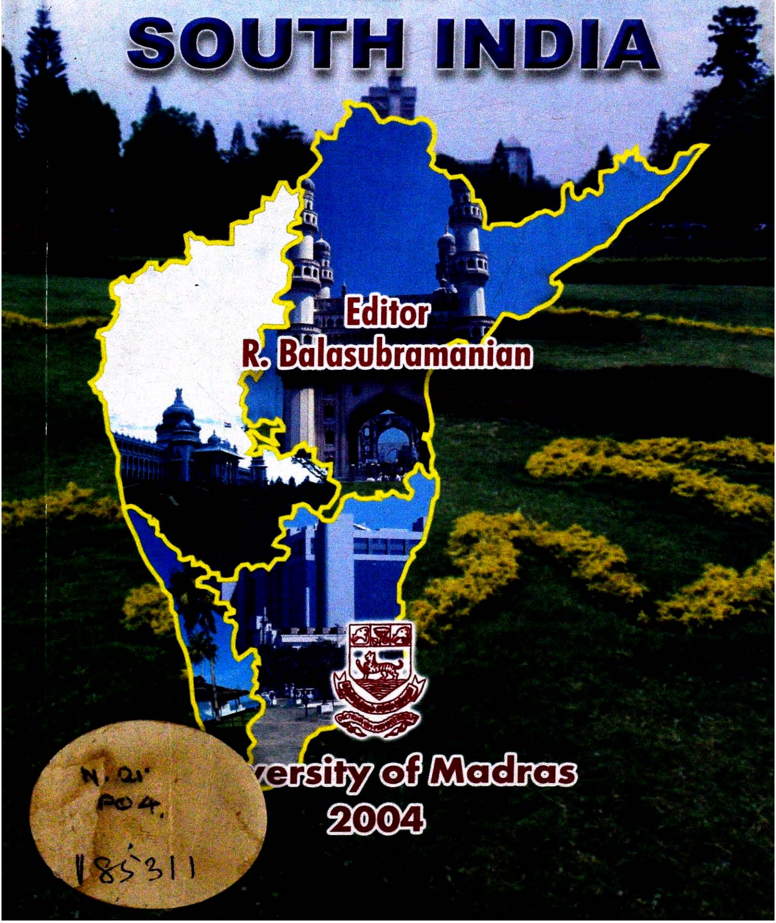
WELFARE STATE IN SOUTH INDIA



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Welfare State in South India

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Chennai

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Ph.D., M.D., D.Sc., FNASc., FAMS, FIMSA, FABMS
Vice-Chancellor

Foreword

The concept of welfare had embedded in our Indian culture. Over the years, the tradition of charity gave way to religious approval for the provision of welfare to the aged, poor and other weaker sections of the society. Modern constitutions incorporated provisions of welfare as a matter of right. The states at present are obligated to provide various welfare measures to the citizens in a variety of forms. There are no uniformity in the contents of welfare among the nations of the world, each form a unique feature of its own. The welfare model as we derive from our constitution is comprehensive enough to cover wider sections of the society of scarcity. The role of the state, NGOs and private individuals and society in making the constitutional promises in to reality need to be understood in a more positive way. The framers of the Constitution have envisaged a vibrant Indian society to march forward towards the goal of a egalitarian society. In Nehru's parlance, it is *growth with justice and tryst with destiny*. Whether the people of this country experienced the development in all walks of life with justice? whether the economic growth has benefited the wider sections of the population? Whether the developments in Science and Technology has changed the life styles of the millions in India? It was estimated that nearly half of the population of India are experiencing deficit in their basic necessities in one way or other. It was also reported that India's foreign exchange reserves crossed US$ 100 billion mark. The contradictions in India's socio-economic life have utterly changed the face of

the nation. The present volume is edited by R. Balasubramanian, "Welfare State in South India" has highlighted experiences of the welfare state in South India in the recent period particularly after the advent of the globalization liberlization and privatization movements. The focus of the articles of the book is on the lines of role of the state in context of the withdrawal of state intervention including welfare provision. The editor has given a fitting introduction to the book. The articles of this volume deal with various aspects of the working of welfare state in South India: concept of welfare state, welfare state and globalization, welfare state and education, and welfare programmes, health care and women.

This volume on welfare state would be a valuable addition in the growing body of literature on the subject. I strongly believe that this book would be useful to researchers, academicians, social workers, policy makers and students at large. I appreciate the editor for bringing out this volume in this time.

Sd./-
Dr. S.P. Thyagarajan,
Vice - Chancellor,
University of Madras

Chennai - 600 005

Date: 3 September, 2004

CONTENTS

Forward (iii)

Contributors (viii)

Preface (xi)

Introduction - ***R. Balasubramanian*** (xiii)

PART I : WELFARE STATE

Theoretical Perspectives of Social Welfare State - A Brief Note 1
Y. Rafeek Ahmed

The Welfare and Uplift of All: Gandhi's Philosophy of Sarvodaya 8
Mahajan P. Mani

Paradoxes of Welfare State 17
R. Thandavan

PART II: WELFARE STATE AND GLOBALIZATION

Globalization, The Welfare State and South India 24
M. Rengaswamy

Bhoomi Versus "Bhoomi": E-Governance, Land Question and the State in the Context of Globalization in Karnataka 38
Muzaffar Assadi

Welfarism, Globalization and The State of Tamil Nadu, 1991-2003 50
K.A. Mani Kumar

Globalization and its Effects on Business in Tamil Nadu. 65
M. Suresh Babu and S. John Gabriel

PART III: WELFARE STATE AND EDUCATION

Human Development in Karnataka : Status, Challenges and Prescriptions. 76
D. Jeevan Kumar

The State and the Declining Public Education System in Kerala 94
M.M. Mathew

Welfare Component of Education in Andhra Pradesh 102
C. V. Raghavulu

Values and Finalities of Mid-Day Meal Scheme in Tamil Nadu 116
R. Balasubramanian and A. Joseph

Free and Compulsory Primary Education for All: Constitutional Promise and Administrative Devolution 134
M. Kennedy Stephensan Vaseekaran

PART IV: WELFARE STATE AND WELFARE PROGRAMMES

Social Welfare Programmes in Tamil Nadu 146
C. Gnanaprakasam

Policy of Reservation: The Need for Review 159
A. Thanikodi

Social Welfare, State Regulation and the Non-Government Organisations in Tamil Nadu 171
R. Srinivasan

Child Labour Welfare in Welfare State 183
I. Ilamathian

Child Welfare Programmes in Tamil Nadu : With Special Reference to Nutritious Noon Meal Scheme and Integrated Child Development Services Scheme. 190
R. Mathaiyan

Labour Welfare in the Unorganised Sector in Tamil Nadu 200
B. Jayanthi

PART V: WELFARE STATE AND HEALTH CARE

The Welfare Measures for the Aged in Tamil Nadu 213
T. Kalyani

Water Battle Vs Health Crisis: The Plight of a Mega City - Chennai 223
M. Uma Maheswari

PART VI: WELFARE STATE AND WOMEN

Emerging Perspectives in the Empowerment of Women - An Appraisal 248
B.P.C. Bose

Gender Disparity in Human Development 269
G. Virgin Sigamani

Women Empowerment Through Reservation in Tamil Nadu 274
R. Thangaraj

Atrocities on Women - Role of Police in Tamil Nadu. 281
K. Usha

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Preface

The Department of Politics and Public Administration was selected for the Special Assistance Programme by the University Grants Commission (UGC). The Department has successfully completed UGC-SAP (Phase - I) Programme in 1999. The UGC recommended the Department to continue the programme for a further period from 1999-2004.

Under the DSA Programme, the Department of Politics and Public Administration has already completed nine monographs and out of them four books are published: they are, Social and Economic Dimension of Caste Organisations in South Indian States; Governability and Governance in South Indian States; Electoral Politics and Nation Building in South Indian States; and the present one, Welfare State in South India.

The present volume is the outcome of the two-day seminar conducted by the Department of Politics and Public Administration on 5 and 6 April 2004 on "Welfare State in South India". I am grateful to Dr. S.P. Thyagarajan, Vice Chancellor, for his inaugural address to the seminar, in which he stressed the need for such exercises like this for evaluating the quality of life of people of India. This volume consists of the revised versions of these papers, some of which have evolved considerably since the seminar and in many cases in response to the excellent discussions.

I thank Dr. C.A. Perumal, Professor Emeritus and other faculty members for their excellent advice in drafting the road-map for conducting the seminar and suggesting valuable comments in publishing this volume. I also thank Dr. A. Joseph, Research Associate of the Department of Politics and Public Administration for his continued help and support during the process of editing and saw the volume through the press.

R. Balasubramanian
Co-ordinator of SAP
Programme & Editor

Introduction

R. BALASUBRAMANIAN

India became a welfare state with its independence. The government ever since 1947 embarked on a massive programme of welfare activities and even listed many details of welfare functions in its Constitution. Only five years after the adoption of the Constitution of India in 1955, the Oxford English Dictionary defined the term welfare state as "a policy so organized that every member of the community is assured of his due maintenance, with the most advantageous conditions possible for all". The welfare state is the institutional outcome of the assumption by a society that the state is legal and therefore, has formal and explicit responsibility for the basic well-being of all its members. This can be directly related to the results of the Industrial Revolution such as unemployment, poverty and the problem of the able bodied poor. The state initially reacted sharply by providing relief in the form of aids, subsidies, doles etc., but it was harshly attacked as spreading pauperism. But, the philosophy of the Twentieth Century 'welfare state' was different. The poverty and dependence were no longer regarded as evidence of personal failure. Providing basic necessities of life in adequate measure by the State was regarded as the right of every member of the society. This was not considered any more as an act of charity. It was regarded as an act of social justice. The state is, therefore, a social service state and a social security state, programming the welfare of its people through raising the worker's income, introduction of progressive taxation, labour and consumer legislation, aid to the disabled etc.

In a careful analysis of the theory and practice of welfarism among the South Indian States, one may come to the conclusion that what we get in South India is more in the nature of "marginal welfare states. The traditional welfare state in South India with its emphasis on social policies has been and still is politically attractive because it promises equality without radically affecting the system of production, ownership and power. Social policy in India is not and has hardly ever been looked upon as an instrument to tame

the forces of the market. The political parties in India fully exploit the socio-economic conditions and in this they even have a consensus. Political parties in India seem to be totally aware of the existence of the Beverridge's five giants, viz, want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness. Statistics prove that India is on top of the table among the nations of the world in poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, rural backwardness, neglect of women and the aged etc. However nearly six decades of free India's efforts in improving the lot of the poor and the downtrodden, through a series of social welfare measures, both at the Union and at the states' level, did not produce any satisfactory result. There appears to be many serious lapses in implementing the schemes, due to (a) lack of knowledge or awareness on the part of the masses, who fail to articulate and demand their implementation; (b) the Government, though profess to be socialistic, stands on a very superficial ideological stance whether it be right or left. Lack of commitment to any ideology, turn the schemes from welfare to populist; (c) a fossilized and unresponsive bureaucracy, which has no commitment to these schemes and (d) the social culture of the society. Hence the arguments on marginal and institutional models of welfare state, will be of great help to understand the shortcomings and failures in the Southern States. South India during the last decade of the 20th century had witnessed massive globalisation drive. Under its pressure all the governments were forced to put off welfare measures and subsidies and instead concentrated upon efficiency and economy of administration. The promise of prosperity has not touched upon most majority of people, not to speak of basic necessities. Paradoxically there has been an increasing entrepreneurial role from sand quarrying to liquor vending. Does it mean that the state strives to mobilize resources for its welfare activities?

In all societies that can reasonably called welfare states the balance between markets and politics has shifted in favour of politics. This experiment consists of *economic policy* for the management of the problem of production and the *social policy* for the management of the problem of distribution. But the emphasis has been and remains on the latter aspect of the management of the problem of distribution, that is to undo what the market has done. This is more pronounced and methods adopted are more subtle and surreptitious among the states in South India. Are these marginal welfare states building as they do on a selective principle? As a concept, welfare state is ambiguous. One way of getting a firmer conceptual ground, however, is to look at its basic goals. The goal of the welfare state is two-sided: security and equality. The traditional welfare state aimed solely at establishing some degree of social security, creating a safety net. The more developed welfare state, on the other

hand, aims in addition, toward equality and fairness in the distribution of public goods and services and of the unavoidable burdens. The welfare state is aimed at making the distribution of welfare more egalitarian than it would be in the absence of social policies.

In South India there is not much difference between charity and welfare, populism and welfarism or socialism and egalitarianism. Invariably welfarism transforms into populism and social welfare into the political score board. The existing socio-economic structure is not that the poor have less than rich, but rather that the poor do not have enough. The goal of development strategy by the government *inter alia* should be the reduction of sectoral and social disparities (the goal of equality), and the simple concern with providing minimum condition of subsistence and survival (the goal of equity and justice). Welfare state in South India now appears to be a forgotten concept, but it does not mean freedom from want is accomplished.

In the opening paper of this volume entitled *Theoretical Perspectives of Social Welfare State,* Y.Rafeek Ahmed demonstrates theoretically how the state has undergone and continues to undergo great many changes. He maintains that the role of the state, its functions and its powers vis-a-vis the individual and society have varied so much that the old parameters to evaluate the state's position in the individual's existence are no longer valid in 21st century. The degree and pattern of dependence on state welfare is changing and would continue to do so. He concludes that the disappearance of the welfare state is scarcely more likely than the disappearance of organized society itself.

Mahajan P. Mani in his article *'The welfare and Uplift of All: Gandhi's Philosophy of Sarvodaya'*, critically examined Gandhi's Sarvodaya society and argued that what Gandhi searched was upliftment of all.

In his paper, *Paradoxes of Welfare State,* R. Thandavan brings out different schools of thought on the functions of the state such as individualistic, anarchists, Marxian, socialists and Gandhian. The author distinguishes traditional welfare state with marginal welfare state or progressive welfare state and modern welfare state. He concludes that Welfare state as a concept is changing or changeable according to development, technological advancement and awareness of the people.

In the article, *Globalization, The Welfare State and South India,* M. Rengaswamy views that globalization stands like octopus, and the poor nations are helpless prey to its economic hunger. He opines that the welfare state is

not only in crisis but bidding farewell to domestic economic and cultural values.

Muzaffar Assadi in his article, *Bhoomi Versus "Bhoomi": E-Governance, Land Question and the State in the Context of Globalization in Karnataka:* illustrated the ambiguities in defining the role of the state on the onslaught of globalization in Karnataka. He argued that while the state adhering to the principles of globalisation could not withdrew totally from the interventionist mode, it also could not withdrew from the realm of globalization. According to him two policies viz, policy on land and policy on agriculture are the casualities to this dillemma. The impact of globalization on agriculture sector resulted in increasing number of suicides among farmers and the related issues. Even in compensating victims the state government discriminated against unorganized agri sector. The ambiguities in agri policy of Karnataka state clearly illustrated withdrawal of the state but at the same time the state did not withdraw from welfare mode.

In the article *'Welfarism, Globalisation and the state of Tamil Nadu, 1991-2003'* K.A. Manikumar illustrates that the impact of globalization in India is felt through the adoption of new economic policy by the Government of India, which promised rapid economic development. Contrary to the expectations there were no development along the expected lines. In the case of Tamil Nadu, the structural reforms were initiated in a more orthodox way. The author illustrated how the structual reforms affected the rural economy too, by citing two villages of Tirunelveli district. He suggested collective action rather than individual initiatives would amelierate the conditions of the helpless poor.

In *Globalization and its effects on Business in Tamilnadu,* John Gabriel and Suresh Babu emphasise the impact of globalization on business in Tamil Nadu. These are addressed through three major concerns. First is the issue of free flow of goods and Services. The second is free flow of capital and thirdly it is the free flow of Technology. The authors discuss how globalization is currently defining and shaping the entire globe like one country for business.

The article entitled *Human Development in Karnataka: Status, Challenges and prescriptions* by Jeevan Kumar, points out that Human Development Reports stress that development is not only growth in income, wealth or consumption, but the expansion of human capabilities. He explains vividly that longevity, Educational attainment and the standard of living are the three most critical and social variables took to gauge the welfare of nations. He then deals the Human Development Report Chronologically from 1990

onwards. He explorers the Karnataka's Human Development Report and has used per capita income, educational attainment (two variables used: adult literacy and enrolment of children) and life expectancy at birth as indicators to measure the stand of giving, educational attainment health status respectively.

In his paper. *The state and the declining public Education system in Kerala,* M.M. Mathew presents a comprehensive view of the important issues and problems of educational system in Kerala. He feels that the state has started receding its role as a major player in the Education Sector. The paper criticises the extensive way of privatisation of Education, commercalisation of education has eroded the value system of education where money replaces merit. As a result only rich can afford to have higher education The author is of the strong opinion that the state should be brought back to condition that the government should provide direct subsidies to the poor.

C.V. Raghavulu, in his article, *Welfare component of Education in Andhra Pradesh* reviewed welfare measures provided to the Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Backward Classes (BC) in Andhra Pradesh in education. Prof. Raghavulu is of the opinion that the welfare domain has been shrinking in the context of liberalization and Privatisation of higher education, is disproved in the case of Andhra Pradesh as far as concessions given to the weaker sections are concerned. That means, Andhra Pradesh still continues to allocate large sums of money to the welfare of the SCs, STs and BCs for the purposes of education. He argued that as elsewhere, large systems tend to develop inertia and dysfunctional tendencies, the educational concessional programmes for the weaker sections in Andhra Pradesh also faced the same fate. The remedy lies according to him in, continuous evaluation of the programme.

The article on *Values and Finalities of Mid-Day Meal Scheme in Tamilnadu.* by R. Balasubramanian and A. Joseph reason out, that at the outset, widespread illiteracy was one of the factors which prevented the people from coming out of their traditional grooves and developing a modern and secular outlook. Lack of education hampered social mobility and dissolution of prevailing prejudices and cultural barriers. They suggest that the first and the foremost parameter to change the structure of the country in cohesion is through education. They question that how will they come to school when they suffer from hunger? The answer is noon Meal Scheme wherein the superior number of the illiterate poor are converted into national weapon to augument the progress and development of the person and subsequently the national power.

The statistics prove the rise of enrollment and decline of drop outs done to the introduction of UMP in the schools.

M. Kennedy Stephensen Vaseekaran in his article, *'Free and Compulsory Primary Education for all: Constitutional promise and Administrative Devolution'*, argued that, though the Constitution promised free primary education for all within a time frame, it could not be realized due to various reasons. He further states that in the state of Tamil Nadu, the government took efforts in enrolling children at large numbers, but, they could not be sustained, probably because of mismanagement in the school education system. The result of these mis management, was increase in child labour and other related problems such as, growing group of demoralized disillussionised youngsters. The solution to this problem lies in mobilization of community support and Non-Governmental Organisations.

C. Gnanaprakasam in his article, *"Social Welfare Programmes in Tamilnadu*, argued that while the government of Tamil Nadu initiated many welfare programmes for the benefit of the people below poverty line, either as a populist scheme or as a geneune welfare measure, they have not made any dent in allievating poverty among the people When the trickling down effect is not there in the context of economic growth direct state intervention is justified. The state should not withdraw from social sector instead it should strengthen its role, and that is what the Government of Tamil Nadu is doing.

In his article, *Policy of Reservation: The Need for Review*, A. Thanikodi categorically points out that the tools adopted by the state of uplift (if not to attain equality) socially, economically backward Classes is the reservation policy. He justifies reservation based on castes to render justice to the deprived and exploited class.

R. Srinivasan in his article, *'Social Welfare, State Regulation and Non-Government Organisations in Tamil Nadu'*, while tracing the growth of Non-Governmental Organisations argued that, administrative culture peculiar to public institutions is slowly spreading to NGOs, also. With the result, the NGOs have become a corollary to the governmental institutions infested with nepotism, over centralisation, redtapism etc. Hence, he suggested that NGOs should to try solve local problems with locally founded resources.

E. Ilamathian in his article, *Child labour Welfare in Welfare state*, illustrated that the enactment of child labour prohibition and regulation Act, by the Tamil Nadu government did not bring about any change in the status of child labour. He argued that there are innumerable children are employed

in many unorganised sectors, apart from organized sectors. The causes of such state of affairs according to him are due to non-implementation of provisions of the Act by the enforcing authorities. The remedy lies in clean sweep of existing child labour act and replacing it with new one along with guidelines issued by the Supreme Court of India.

R. Mathaiyan in his article, *"Child Welfare programme in Tamil Nadu: With Special Reference to Nutritions Meal Programme and Integrated Child Development Services Scheme"* while observing the two Child welfare programme NMS and CDS in Tamil Nadu, argued that there is a need for time bound action plan, to eliminate micronutrient deficiency and pointed out the need for a comprehensive plan of action for child welfare.

B. Jayanthi's article titled *Labour Welfare in the Unorganised sector in Tamilnadu,* examines the overall trends and labour welfare in the Unorganised sector in Tamilnadu. She admits candidly that a vast majority of India's workforce, estimated at 92% are unorganised and consequently unprotected. There have been innumberable legislations to protect the rights of the labourers in the Unorganised sector but hardly implemented in any meaningful way in the country. However, she concludes that the state has the responsibility and the duty to address the needs of its deprived citizen effectively and efficiently.

The Welfare Measures for the Aged in Tamilnadu by T. Kalyani portrays a picture of sufferings of the aged. She opines that the genuine requirements of economic, Physical, social, psychological, medical, spiritual factors are duly attended for the aged in this fast industrial society.

Water Battle Vs Health Crisis: The plight of the Mega City - Chennai by M. Uma Maheswari rings the alarm bell not only over the scarcity of water which expected to get worse but fierce battles for who should take control of this precious resource within the country and between the countries. She highlights the serious health crisis in mega cities due to lack of water supply. The urban water supply and sanitation sector in the country, is in a bad shape. She points out the right to safe drinking water is a fundamental right. The scarcity of water has created friction between people. The commodification of water has further created a conflict between affordability and poverty. The wealthier have far better access to piped and other exclusive sources of water than the poor.

B.P.C. Bose in his article, *Emerging Perspectives in the Empowerment of Women: An Appraisal:* argued, that empowerment of women is the significant aspect of Welfare state and examined, how for the National Policy

for the Empowerment of women 2001, is successful in empowering women, According to him, the efforts of the government in ameliorating the problems of women are not adequate. The case of Andhra Pradesh proves his point. The remedy lies in strengthening constitutional provisions with regard to women welfare.

Gender Disparity in Human Development by G. Virgin Sigamani laments in his paper that women enjoy only a Secondary position in so far as human development is concerned. He further criticises that gender disparity in human development is inconsistent with the ideology of welfarism. He analyses the factors that are responsible for gender disparity in the society. He suggests five steps to close the gender gap in human development.

Women Empowerment Through Reservation in Tamilnadu, R. Thangaraj, commences his discourse on women empowerment through reservation in Tamilnadu, by narrating subramania Bharati's song. He throws light on the rationalist and revolutionary poet's struggle in emancipating women. He further mentions various constitutional measures by the government to promote welfare of women. He gives a void picture of representation of women in rural and urban local bodies in Tamil Nadu. He concludes that through reservation in local self governments and government departments the status of women in Tamilnadu can be enhanced.

In her article, *Atrocties on Women - Role of Police in Tamil Nadu,* K. Usha mentions the importance of women's studies. She further describes the impact of various types of crimes against women. She expresses her anguish in the way these crimes are not brought out to the daylight and how this leads to further violation of law. At this juncture she reiterates the validity of some institutions like National Commission for Women which have built a strong foundation by examining various issues relating to women. She concludes that the mere existence of laws is not enough but creation of all women police station and strict law enforcement would definitely change the condition of women in the society.

1

Theoretical Perspectives of Social Welfare State - A Brief Note

Y. RAFEEK AHMED

State has always been at the centre of controversies in political science. The concept of the state has been a topic of intense discussion as to its meaning, reference and analytical value. Ever since man became aware of the insufficiencies which prompted him to depend on an agency called the state, there has been an uninterrupted flow of queries asked: what should the state be like? Who should install it? What should be its nature and functions? How should it be regulated and controlled, if need be? Should it be retained even when its existence conflicts with the prevailing socio- economic realities? etc etc. Political Scientists have ranged in their views from the inevitability of the state to its demise – from the mundane idea of man's dependence to the philosophical view of its withering away. If the conservatives want the state to have very limited role, the radicals see in it the necessary power to usher in the kind of society they look forward to. The state has come in for a good deal of criticism by the conservatives and liberals who object to its excessive role leading to restricted individual freedom. Indeed some would like the state thrown out from the vocabulary of Political Science (Jens Bartelson). The radicals and the socialists tend to regard the state as a real or potential creator of individual well being and hence end up not only praising its achievements but also seek further extension in its role. There have been instances in history when there was hardly a single human activity which was not in some way regulated by the state.

The story of the state, its origin, nature and functions is really the story of Political Science itself. It has undergone and continues to undergo great

many changes. The qualitative changes over the years have not only resulted in transformation of the theoretical foundations of the state but reoriented our understanding of the concept itself and what we expect of it. However one remarkable feature very prominently displayed in history is that the state has not ever been written off although there have been attempts to deny it the stature, majesty and authority its come to acquire over the years. And yet it is true that the role of the state, its functions and its power vis – a – vis the individual and society have varied so much that the old parameters to evaluate the state's position in the individual's existence are no longer valid in the 21st century.

The extreme views of the conservative- liberal and the authoritarian – collectivist on the need, role and position of the state have varied. There have also been variations occupying middle ground. Indeed one could discern elements cutting across the philosophical principles of both schools of thought accommodated without in any way undermining the significance of the state. This however happened because of prevailing conditions and circumstances. The welfare state is one such concept which has a combination of elements of both schools of thought and has gained popular currency as a result of the environmental demands of a positive role for the state. Between those who consider the state as an agency of exploitation and oppression to those who defied it as 'March of God on Earth', there are great many grey areas which reconcile and reconstruct without accepting the rational of either of those views in toto. Concept of welfare state, is one such attempt at creating a new position with elements borrowed from others without however sacrificing the cardinal virtue of the state as a necessary institution with a purpose.

The concept of the welfare state does not necessarily relate to the need and necessity of modern states as much as it highlights their mission and purpose. Assuming that the state however formed has come to be accepted as a necessary political organization, the debate has of late mostly confined itself to the functions of the state. More importantly the question is one of expectations of the individual. Aware of the threat of being denied his much wanted freedom by every extension in the activities of the state, what does the individual want from the state. How can the state increase its activities to meet the expectations of the individual without in any way compromising his status? The concept of welfare state is supposed to have provided the answer to this question. The welfare state retains liberalism in all its glory with liberty guaranteed and ingeniously blends it with features of collectivism where the state proves itself a very helpful agency to allow a decent life even to the most disadvantaged and the unfortunate.

The essential idea of T.H.Green to remove obstacles to individual's enjoyment of liberty by giving the state a positive role is inherent in the concept of social welfare state. The state continues to manage the police functions with the responsibility of maintaining peace and order. But what is singularly peculiar to the welfare state is the idea that power is used in the cause of peoples' welfare unmindful of the possible restrictions it may cause to the liberty of the individual although there is every attempt to prevent such an eventuality.

In history, conduct of social welfare was invariably found in religion and philosophy and most of the modern legislative responses to poverty, for example, are to be formed in those frameworks. If a distinction between social services and welfare services' is acceptable, the state's assumption of responsibility in performing such services as education and health care has not generated as much controversy as its entry into functions providing 'welfare services' to such vulnerable groups as the poor, the disabled or the delinquents. However one has to appreciate the fact that there has always been the assumption that social welfare services are a necessary function in any society in order to rescue the endangered and thus foster well being. This has been the direct consequence of the economic and social changes which have created hazardous problems to all in every generation requiring constant adjustment. There was an erroneous belief that society was capable of self regulation and that there was no need for any regulatory agency to correct socio economic dislocations. It was in the course of the nineteenth century, in the context of the problems of industrial capitalism and urbanization that the belief in self-regulation was found both wrong and very inadequate. Therefore the state had to assume active and positive role in achieving just and stable society. This is how the interventionist state emerged to become an economic actor providing social welfare along with its traditional responsibility of taking care of law and order. The Great depression of the 1930s led to Government intervention in social security in the United States. The Social Security Act of 1935 not only provided federal grants for the state public assistance to the aged, blind, disabled & dependent children but also established a federal old-age insurance scheme and federal financial backing for the state unemployment insurance plans. In Britain, the Beveridge Report of 1942 was a major development towards a bold new approach to the responsibility of the modern state. It clearly placed the onus of maintaining full employment on the Government along with other important tasks such as giving family allowances for all children after the first, and assuring comprehensive health care for the whole population. Indeed, the Government under Attlee laid the foundations

of the welfare state in Britain and the conservative party later, made no efforts to undo the prominent features of the welfare state thus making clear that welfare state politics cannot be antithetical to other ideologies. In Germany, under Willy Brandt, the Social Democratic Party became a reformist's party by standing for an extension of the welfare state.

Social Insurance is a fundamental feature of the welfare state in most industrialised countries. Indeed the use of the term social welfare is associated with the comprehensive measures of social insurance. National Insurance in the U.K , Old age, Survivors, Disability and Health Insurance in the US, are good examples. Such insurance is usually financed by compulsory contributions and is intended to provide benefits to persons and families during periods of greatest needs. The US, also includes public provision of basic education, health services and housing. All anti poverty programmes and the system of personal taxation are aspects of the welfare state. Apart from the fact that personal taxation fills up the state treasury to meet the expenditure in the implementation of the welfare schemes, it is also used as a means to achieve greater justice in income distribution. The interpretation of the social welfare role of the state has so widened that it also covers employment and administration of consumer prices. In the US, the twentieth century witnessed the earlier concepts of the passive state and laissez faire being abandoned. The process started with the New Deal of President Truman. It could be said with justification that the US provides state aid to the individual in almost all phases of his life.

The administration of social security has become both complex and confusing. Its cost has risen substantially since World War – II. While social security spending amounted to less than 10% of the gross national product in nearly all countries in 1950, it had risen to 20% to 30% or more in many European countries by 1980 clearly indicating, among other things, the extension of the coverage of social security. In other words, there has been an enormous increase in the size and scope of the state activity. By 1960's, statism had come to be accepted endorsing the management of economy by public agencies, regulation of commercial and industrial activities, subsidising of incomes, owning and operation of industrial enterprises, service and social security funds. Infact, are almost 25% of National Gross Product of the OECD countries was spent on social expenditure.

There was however a sudden change by 1980's and the welfare state consensus came under sever attack. State was no longer seen as the solution to the problems of society but as their cause. There was the argument that the

welfare state eroded individual responsibility and initiative, created a large inefficient bureaucracy that intruded and violated the privacy of citizens diminished choice and individual preferences, and harmed economic productivity and growth by confiscating private resources in the form of taxation for the welfare expenditure. The most serious criticism has been that welfarism has led to dependency and a culture of poverty.

President Hoover had defined the concept of welfare state as a disguise for a collectivist state by the route of spending "resulting in loss of human independence, initiative and freedom leading to a mass of collectivism". For many others, the welfare state was a super service state with all – wise super administrators leading to a totalitarian state. Although all expansion of state activity is labeled "Progressive", the capitalist sector and the wealthy sections of populations feel threatened because welfarism means higher taxation because all Government taxation is determined by expenditure needs and state activity is conditioned by revenue rather than state revenue influencing state activity. Every piece of welfare has to be paid for, through increased taxation and hence it has become a matter of calculation and taxation arithmetic. Thatcherism and Reganism which are opposed to welfare politics openly call for shunning welfare activities by the state. They contend that social services such as health services and educational services must be taken over by the civil society. Altruism should be exercised by private people and associations and the state should keep itself above such role. But as against this, supporters of the welfare state concept consider it an inevitable development. Ebenstein considers welfare as implied in the nature of the state itself. Whatever the form of the state, welfare is seen as the main purpose of the state. Even Adam Smith while advocating laissez faire did not ignore welfare classical liberalism supported the movement from laissez faire to the welfare state primarily because of the economic reality of the twentieth century which had led to unemployment and degradation and caused untold misery. There was also the realization that poverty is not necessarily the result of nature and fate but the consequence of unchangeable institutions of society. In a welfare state, citizens are provided with services and facilities to prevent them from falling below some minimum level of subsistence. Therefore there could not be any stop to the march of the welfare state which came to be evolved pragmatically in response to immediate needs and emergencies.

Welfare state is a concept of government in which the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well – being of citizens. It is based on the assumption that the state carries the responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good,

decent and dignified life. The welfare state provides aid for the individual in almost all phases of his life. In many countries, establishment of the welfare state is their goal.

Social welfare is all about state intervention in the arena of human sufferings. There is a mistaken belief among the supporters of globalisation and liberalization that all the major present date trends are meant to relegate the state in to the back ground in the life of the individual. Those unhappy with the " subsidized culture" prevalent in the developing countries in particular, feel that the positive role assumed by the state was an aberration which gets corrected by the strong economic and social forces at work in the present day world. However one should remember that globalisation might have undermined the sovereignty of the state but has not resulted in the demise of the state. Infact, today as a result of liberalization and globalisation, employment is shrinking, productive sectors of the economy are declining giving rise to service sector where high rate of profit is guaranteed without creating enough employment. Labour market as a result is the casualty. There is, therefore, high rate of unemployment , particularly in the west, which necessarily pressurizes the state to intervene. The state's role is likely to increase and definitely not come to an end. As Bryson (1992) puts it, "The term welfare state is used where a nation has atleast a minimum level of institutionalized provisions for meeting the basic economic and social requirements of its citizens. When a nation is defined as a welfare state the major emphasis is on the classic forms of social welfare. However, regulative of the labour force and working conditions, general health measures and some active intervention is usually implied as well".

There is no denying the fact that all the reasons and conditions for the emergence of the welfare state have not been eliminated and that poverty has remained a serious challenge to mankind itself. So long as the suffering poor remain as a blot on the fair name of ' good life' and ' good governance', the need for efforts in the cause of welfare by the state would continue unabated perhaps with less fanfare.

In India, the constitution itself declares the state as a welfare state and yet all these years the social security system is not universal. It is applicable only in the case of government and organized private sector employees and the burden is shared by both the employees and the employers. The old age pension and widow pension schemes are applicable only to destitutes and not healthy citizens. There is adhocism denying a well thought out integrated system. There is greater need for more and more unfortunate, helpless and

less vulnerable people coming under the welfare schemes so that dignified life is assured to all people of India.

All said, the answer to the question : Can the state ever relinquish its responsibilities of taking care of society under its jurisdiction? world always be in the negative. The degree and pattern of dependence on state welfare is changing and would continue to do so. The disappearance of the welfare state is scarcely more likely than the disappearance of organized society itself.

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2

The Welfare and Uplift of All: Gandhi's Philosophy of Sarvodaya

DR. MAHAJAN. P. MANI

As Gandhi is referred to as a social reformer, his ideal reform is the creation of a Sarvodaya society, a society in which the uplift of all is formed. Not a utilitarian concept, but an absolutist ideal, Gandhi takes his ideas from John Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, emphasizing the good of the individual is the good of all. Gandhi's Sarvodaya deviates from many present-day societies. The goals of Sarvodaya society include equality, truth, nonviolence, labor, simplicity, and tolerance. This ideal society would restructure the existing economic, social, and political order.

The most important aspect to the Sarvodaya economy is the simplicity of life and the limitation of wants. Secondly, Gandhi advocated the decentralization of production and movement from mass production to production by masses. Along with decentralization goes self-sufficiency, which emphasizes the placement of all enterprises in the hands of individuals and villages. Lastly, Sarvodaya economics emphasizes cooperation and what Gandhi calls corporate economy.

The Gandhian social order touches on a wide range of issues, but this paper analyzes only four. Gandhi believed in the importance of right means; that mean was nonviolence. He emphasized the equality and uplift of the status of women. The problems that are caused by the modern caste and class system are analyzed and the emphasis on the need for equality, whether the system is one based on birth or one based on wealth. Finally, Gandhi emphasized the necessity of universal brother and sisterhood.

Gandhi's new political order would be a democratic model with some fundamental changes from the democracies of today. First, Gandhi emphasized the replacement of the welfare 'state' with that of a welfare 'society'. Secondly, he emphasized that decisions should be made by consensus of opinion as opposed to the desire of the majority. Gandhi criticized the party system of many national political makeup and instead, discusses a 'partyless' democracy. Finally, he saw the need in a modified system of direct elections.

This paper presents a brief outline and critique of Gandhi's Sarvodaya society and draws on many resources from Gandhi's own works (*Sarvodaya,* Village Swaraj, and other collections). Much of the information in the paper has been obtained by Vishwanath Tandon in his book *Sarvodaya after Gandhi.* This was a very helpful resource, drawing on the various aspects of Gandhi's Sarvodaya society and its useful application in the economic, social, and political structure.

Gandhi and Sarvodaya Society

Gandhi is referred to as a social reformer in the midst of a moralistic revolution. He wrote with much passion on the social and economic organization that he advocated, known as Sarvodaya. This social concept is an attempt to attain welfare and uplift of all and to find an "all - around well-being" (Tandon, 1). As utilitarian as this concept may sound, Gandhi actually rejected utilitarian doctrine, which "in its nakedness means that in order to achieve the supposed good of 51 per cent the interest of the remaining 49 percent may be, or rather, should be sacrificed" (Mookherji, 275). Gandhi stated "The Utilitarian to be logical will never sacrifice himself. The absolutist will even sacrifice himself" (*Sarvodaya, 4*). Basing this concept on Ruskin's *Unto This Last*, Gandhi came to understand three aspects of social life: The good of the individual is the good of all, the lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's work, and that the life of labor is the life worth living (Mani, lecture, 6-2-99). In his work *Sarvodaya*: *The Welfare of All*, Gandhi emphasizes that in Sarvodaya society no one would "harbor any distinction between community and community, caste or outcaste. Everybody would regard all as equal with oneself and hold them together in the silken net of love" (5). This egalitarian notion is the basis of a society in which the welfare of all is uplifted-a Sarvodaya society. The social structure of Sarvodaya scrutinizes the present society, which is marked with social and economic inequalities, overemphasis of competition, and desire for monetary rewards and material possessions. Sarvodaya is an attempt to design the existing society into a universal culture based on truth, non-violence, physical labor, non-possession, tolerance, and

equality. This absence of inequality and exploitation "Would allow the better side of human nature to assert itself" (Tandon, 96). The three structures of critique of the Sarvodaya society are basic: economic, social, and political.

The New Economic Order: *Simplicity Most Important*

Vishwanath Tandon identified the four principles of the Sarvodaya economic state advocated by Gandhi as being simplicity of life, decentralization, self-sufficiency, and cooperation. Tandon refers to simplicity of life as the most important principle of the Sarvodaya economic structure. Gandhi emphasized a "high standard of life" as opposed to a "high standard of living", and by stressing the importance of simplicity instead of production and consumption of material goods, the Sarvodaya society deviates from the basic philosophies of the Capitalist market system and societies of Marxist Socialism. It would be folly, according to Tandon, "to call the present standard of living of the West as 'high'. It would be more appropriate to designate it as 'the complex way of life" (108). It is also noted that a simple life is not one of poverty, but a life in search of a balance between asceticism and affluence, both which cannot lead to true spiritual happiness. Gandhi viewed the world as dynamic, with increasing social, environmental, and economic problems and inequality; he saw the pressures and rise of consumerism as the precursor to these problems. With the shrinking resources of the Earth, the increase of wants is responsible for the considerable damage to the environment and the quality of life for the creatures of the earth. Gandhi stated that in this world there is enough for the need of all, but not the greed of one single person. Along with this simplicity of life come a strengthening of thinking and a deepening of thoughts, as well as an increase of awareness and personal spirituality. (Mani, lecture, 20-2-99). "It is increasingly being realised that mere piling up of material riches is neither conducive to the welfare of the individual nor the society" (Tandon, 109).

Decentralization of production

The second principle of the Sarvodaya economy is the decentralization of production. Gandhi's concept of decentralization "is a product of this machine age and aims to ensure that the benefits of science and technology enable us to preserve the essence of democracy even while avoiding the drudgery and maximizing production and employment" (Tandon, 110). This idea of economic decentralization emphasized the placement of all enterprises in the hands of individuals in homes, and in turn villages would be dependent on industries provided by itself in cooperation with neighboring villages. This mode of production stresses the movement away from mass production and

towards a mean of production by masses (Mani, lecture, 6-3-99). Gandhi saw centralization as a system "inconsistent with non-violent structure of society" (Gandhi, The Voice of Truth, 449), and the advantages to this decentralization are seen by Tandon as many:

".. the economic strength and efficiency of small-scale, decentralized, intensive industry lies in its low fixed charges, lower power costs, low expenses for repair, maintenance and depreciation, low inventory charges, rapid turn - over of material and product, little or no storage costs, security of employment, psychological and physiological healthiness and adaptation to (human) nature, its moral and aesthetic development. It would also stop the exploitation of villages and lead to a more equitable distribution of income and to a more peaceful and cooperative life"(112).

Self Sufficiency

The third aspect of the economics of Sarvodaya is the implementation and encouragement of self-sufficiency. This directly goes with decentralization: villages should be self-sufficient in their basis requirements of food, clothing, and shelter. This concept is known as "village swaraj", or "village self-rule", an empowerment program of India's rural population, and was directly involved in the independence movement of India (Mani, lecture, 20-2-99). Mass unemployment in India was a result of the declining cottage industries and an increase of British textiles importation during British rule. Swaraj was an attempt to regain that employment and dignity. Through self-sufficiency, economic production would take place between neighbors to ensure proper distribution, which is noted by Tandon as a problem that cannot be separated from that of production (116). This self-sufficiency or swaraj is essential so people do not become helpless and at the mercy of their rulers. "It binds all people together not only in economic ties but also human ties," (ibid). Also, in times of an economic depression, this self-sufficiency would make available use of physical labor and materials independently of the overarching economic structure (ibid).

Cooperation and Corporate Economy

Fourthly, cooperation is needed for the connection with self-sufficiency. This way of economic structure is referred to as a "corporate economy". Sarvodaya is conducive to the philosophy of a cooperative way of living and Gandhi sees this corporate economy as the only application in the arena of the economic life of society. A competitive economy, such as Capitalism (which, according to Gandhi, leads to injustice, exploitation, and moral corruption) is not applicable in Sarvodaya society, neither is the collectivization of

Communism. Tandon describes corporate economy of Sarvodaya in the following:

"First the cooperation of Sarvodaya is born of the growth of community spirit in the people and the degree of that cooperation depends on the degree of that spirit... Secondly, it does not involve any enslavement of the individuals who are independent and capable of acting on their own even apart from the group, while collectivization implies a combination where the individuals are reduced to such dependence on the group that they cannot function apart from the group. Sarvodaya is not prepared to sacrifice individual liberty" (Tandon, 116).

Sarvodaya Social Order

The second item of critique of the society advocated by Gandhi is the belief of the intense need to restructure the social order of present day. This new social order possesses a wide range of aspects from treatment of animals to caste and elimination of untouchability. Although each of these points are all equally worthy of explanation, the elements of this paper will be limited to four aspects. Nonviolence, equality of women, social balance, and universal brother and sisterhood are important attributes to the Sarvodaya social order.

Nonviolence

Gandhi believed that the ultimate goal of humans, truth, is only obtainable by right means. The mean that he advocated was nonviolence: "I have nothing new to teach the world. Truth and nonviolence are as old as the hills" (Gandhi). Gandhi refers to non-violence as a "social virtue", and desired an extension of this virtue on a national and international scale (*Sarvodaya,* 55). Nonviolence, or "ahimsa", goes cooperatively with truth as "one interpreted whole-a mosaic in which each patch of colour lent meaning to the other" (Mahadevan, 139). By virtue of Gandhi's emphasis on love towards every being, it is seen contradictory to truth and love to cause harm through violence (physical, psychological, or spiritual) to that which one ultimately loves. According to Gandhi, even the most violent situations could be and should be met using methods of love, peace, and non-violence (Mathur, 22). This would seem to give evidence to the critics of Gandhi that these ideas are one of a "practical idealist" (Mahadevan, 134). This philosophy is, however, only a confluent of his teaching of ends and means: the wrong path cannot lead to the right destination, therefore the correct means is the only true way to reach the desirable end. As D.C. Mathur clarifies, "If the means used ennoble character, increase brotherhood (and sisterhood)... and release latent capacities of the human spirit for creative freedom and spontaneity, the means are good and worthy" (22).

Equality of Women

With the social inequality that permeates this world, the role of women is one that Gandhi paid particular attention to. In Sarvodaya society, there is no inequality; equality of the sexes is necessary and right. Gandhi advocated the initial rise of women out of their oppressed state through eduction and the building up of courage within the women of India. Through this, the repressive laws and attitudes of men towards women would not be as easily applied and received (*Gandhi on Women, 90*). Sarvodaya thinkers identify the ideal family and household as one where there is no superiority or inferiority between the sexes, but mutual duties and equal status (Tandon, 103). Tandon is also noted as saying that even the attitude of "chivalry" displayed by some men towards women is an insult to her abilities and is an "emblem of their inferiority" and must end. Gandhi continued in expressing the following.

"Women is described as man's better half. As long as she has not the same rights in law as man, as long as the birth of a girl does not receive the same welcome as that of a boy, so long we should know that India is suffering from partial paralysis. Suppression of woman in a denial of ahimsa..." (*Gandhi on Women*, 321).

Equality of Caste and Class

The social equality that encompasses women in the Sarvodaya society also incorporates the equality of every caste and the rethought of the rigid social system still, in some way, executed in modern Indian society. This does not, however, remain entrapped in the boundaries of India, but reverberates throughout the criticisms of the stratified class system existing in the rest of the world. Gandhi, as many still do today, saw the problem of social inequality as a direct cause of class and caste divisions of society. According to Tandon, the caste system of today is an evolution of "very useful and valid principles of social organization..." (100). Gandhi does not berate the original functional institution that divided occupational groups up along ancestral lines. Gandhi, on the contrary, praised the initial insight of the organization, but condemns the superior and inferior hierarchy and lack of mobility that soon became a characteristic of the system that emerged over time from the schematization. The caste as well as the class system are seen as "enemies of social equality (and) (w)hile the one differentiates on the basis of birth, the other does so on the basis of wealth and education" (*ibid*, 101)

Universal Brother and Sisterhood

The fourth aspect of the social order of Sarvodaya is that of universal brother and sisterhood. This idea can be summed up by Gandhi's own words:

"In purest type of Hinduism a Brahmana, an ant, an elephant and a dog eater... are of the same status. Hinduism insists on the brotherhood not only of all mankind but also of all that lives. ... The moment we have restored real living equality between man and man, we shall be able to establish equality between man and the whole creation. When that day comes we shall have peace on earth and goodwill among man" (*Sarvodaya,* 68).

The four contributions to the Sarvodaya social structure are very similar yet also unique in their essence. As stated before, the formation of this society calls for revolutionary change in ways of thinking and living. Sarvodaya social order is one rooted in service for humankind and movement away from personal gain. In the words of the Mahatma, "the principle of community (and world) service replaces unrestricted, soulless competition" (Village swaraj, 10).

Democratic Political Order

The democratic model is the basis of a Sarvodaya political order and is one to be rooted in nonviolence and equality. Tandon describes this political order as rejecting four aspects of many predominant institutions and thoughts: conception of the welfare state, majority rule, the party system, and the means of direct elections. He continues saying that is place of these, a Sarvodaya political order advocates "a welfare society, decisions by consensus of opinion, partyless democracy, and either a modified system of direct elections or of indirect elections" (127).

Welfare Society, Non Welfare State

Gandhi criticized the place of centralization and "welfare state" in practice of true democracy. Sarvodaya thinkers do not attack welfare, but feel that the welfare state takes initiative from the people and leaves no room for development of human virtues such as love, compassion, and communal good. A welfare society would be one in which the people themselves would develop and execute welfare work. State authority would exist in this welfare society, but should be a vessel of inspiration, encouragement, and assistance when needed.

Consensus

Gandhi's main criticism about modern day political structure deal with majority rule process. As stated previously, a Sarvodaya society is one in which the good of all in the enforced, not simply the good of the majority: "The rule of majority does not mean that it should suppress the opinion of even an individual if it is sound... the opinion of an individual should have greater weight than the opinion of many" (The Voice of Truth, 462). Tandon

states that truly democratic decisions are not made just by the judgement of the majority, but on concessions made by all - a compromise of all ideas in accordance to the will of each (130). The consensus of opinion that Gandhi advocated was modeled after old Indian tradition and the unity of consensus practice among Quakers. It is also noted that attaining this method of decision-making would be difficult, but the ability for people to decide on the basis of the common good can be attained with the proper instruction and education. Tandon expresses that within the present individualized societies, social unity and harmony is ignored for the attainment of personal good (131). Marjorie Sykes is noted as saying, "the individual human being, without letting go of the previous achievements of personal freedom and responsibility, should be re-integrated into society as a fully mature member of the term" (ibid). Gandhi referred to democracy as not being an institution in which one should act as sheep, but defended and advocated the right of the minority to act in a different manner from the majority: "....it is slavery to be amenable to the majority, no matter what its decisions are" (The Voice of Truth, 461).

Partyless Democracy

Tandon discusses Gandhi's idea on a state of partyless democracy and identifies it as a "must" for the democratic state in its purest form. He brings up many problems with the current party system: it suppresses the ethical ideals of politics and limits the capability for persons to act according to their conscience; it has a degrading effect on society but limiting "talent, initiative and sensitiveness for moral values, and justice in the ordinary person"; they are essentially undemocratic in nature by being autocratic and oligarchical, growing towards centralization, and turning representatives into "voting machines"; and it creates contention where solidarity is needed (133). A partyless society would be difficult to obtain for the mere fact that it has always existed. A society of "greater political consciousness, social, equality, faith in the purity of means, indirect elections, (and) nonviolent dispositions" would be needed for its success (134).

Indirect elections

Tandon connects the continuing presence and strength of the party system to the present means of elections: Uninformed constituents voting for unacquainted candidates. The focus of present direct systems of elections remains on the economic situation of the candidates, inevitably leaving no place for a poor man or woman. The system advocated by Gandhi rests on a system of indirect elections or a modification of the present election process.

Election of candidates from the village levels working up encourages the participation of each citizen to take part in the decision-making process.

Conclusion

Gandhi believed that interactions between groups and national should be governed by the morals by which individuals would prescribe for themselves. This is conducive to his utmost faith in human beings as moral creatures capable of making moral decisions. He spoke for a new economic, social and political order. His Sarvodaya society is neither Marxist nor neoclassical, regimented nor anarchic, affluent nor impoverished. The end that Gandhi was searching for in this new order is attainment of the uplift of all. One could sum up the Gandhi's vision in the words of Gunner Myrdal:

"Gandhi perceived clearly that basically development is a human problem concerning attitudes and institutions. It must imply that people everywhere being to act more purposefully to improve their living conditions and then also to change their community in such a way as to make these strivings more possible and effective" (Qtd. in Chopra, 64).

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3

Paradoxes of Welfare State

DR. R. THANDAVAN

The term "State" was for the first time used by Machiavelli, the famous Italian political thinker, which is relevant to modern conception of state or political system. Political scientists have defined the state in various ways. However, the first systematic political thinker, the father of political science i.e., Aristotle was the pioneer to define state with welfare orientation. For him the state is "a union perfect and self-sufficing life, by which he means a happy and honorable life"[1]. Thus we may even trace the concept of welfare state from Aristotle's time.

There are number of pertinent questions regarding the functions, roles and end of the state. What would and ought to be the functions of the state? There is no unanimity among the individualistic, Anarchists, Marxian, socialists and Gandhian thinkers. The gap is very wider. There are liberal thinkers, who don't want any restriction on individual liberty and development; on the other hand, socialist thinkers advocate that state is a friend of individuals to perform all possible activities. Anarchists, yet another category of thinkers believe that the "necessary evil" will one day "wither away". It is here arises the need for the welfare state, which balances, between two extreme views regarding the functions of the state. The balanced combination of good elements found in individualism and socialism is the basis for the welfare state.[2]

A welfare state mainly seeks to promote the welfare of the whole community. The welfare state is expected to render all possible assistance to the needy and the poor in the society. The modern welfare state is actively concerned with the individual from his cradle to graveyard. It is rightly claimed,[3] "the individual has only to get himself born, the state will do the rest".

The note worthy feature of the welfare state is that while trying to promote the material and the moral development of the individual it does not infringe on his liberty. We must distinguish here that under individualism, welfare suffers at the hands of freedom. In socialism the individual freedom suffers at the hands of welfare. But in the welfare state a perfect harmony is achieved between freedom and welfare.

Among the variety of welfare states there existed Scandinavian welfare states, European welfare states, welfare state found in USA and in various developing countries. As such numerous definitions of welfare states are available as the objective and socio-economic and cultural patterns differs from state to state.

The traditional welfare state, however mainly aims at establishing social security and social welfare administration by providing basic needs to the needy people. On the other hand, modern welfare state in addition to social security, strives to attain equity in distribution of wealth, public goods and services. Thus, the modern welfare state is involved in commitment to an egalitarian or fair distribution of welfare. As a result, a variety of state intervention is inevitable to influence and to implement the distribution of welfare in society. Here the quality of access to opportunities and equality of achieving the goal of implementing welfare or distribution of welfare are inherent in modern welfare state.

The marginal model of welfare state restricts its activities to a minimum whereas the institutional model has wider policies starting from subsidies to engaging in redistribution of wealth by differentiation in treatment and taxation. In the marginal welfare state the policies are applicable to minimum number of people and in the institutional welfare model, the welfare policies are universally applied. For instance, the developing countries including India have institutional model and the USA is the best example for marginal welfare state.[4]

Now naturally the question arises in the last five decades of welfare state in India what we have achieved? Have we achieved the desired results in terms of providing equal opportunities to all our citizens in the fields of education, primary health, housing, equal distribution of food, providing employment opportunities, potable drinking water and above all a tolerable decent quality of life. More obviously after globalization and liberalization, it seems that the boundary of state has become irrelevant because what an individual farmer in a remote village of Karnataka or Andhra Pradesh has to harvest is not depending on his own choice but it is decided by a MNC in the

developing countries. Similarly what the export of a particular state, which remains an indicator of GDP, is not determined by the state, but by the World Trade Organization and GATT. Hence, what a welfare state should adopt as a welfare measure is not determined and decided by the state itself but now global actors such as Multi National Corporations, software giants and world organization like United Nations decide. For instance, at present not the social security policy that decides the quality of life that has been provided by a particular state. Either the WHO, UNICEF or any other international development organization may indicate the range of welfare policy and they may index and develop various paradigms of welfare policies. In Indian context, India may not for a long time remain with its own type of welfare state. There are domestic and international context and compulsion and affective environment that condition and decide the future of welfare state in India.

The idea of welfare state is envisaged by the Directive Principles of State Policy in our Constitution. It can only be achieved if the states endeavour to implement them with a high sense of moral duty. Once it was thought that the state was mainly concerned with the maintenance of law and order (Police State) and the protection of life, liberty and property of its citizen. Such restrictive role of welfare state is no longer a valid concept. Today we are living in an era of a welfare state, which has to promote the prosperity and well being of the people. It is in this context, the Directive Principles impose certain obligations on the State to take positive action in certain direction in order to promote the welfare of the people and achieve the quality of life to the citizen.

Following are the some of the significant ideas enshrined in the Directive Principles:

a) Socio-economic and Political Justice, which may lead to minimizing inequality.

b) Equal right to men and women, land distribution, equal pay for equal work, due care for women, children, aged and avoiding exploitation in any of these vulnerable group in any form.[5]

Besides the above mentioned aspects, social security measures must also be under taken by the States, which includes right to work, right to education, public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness, disability etc. Free and compulsory education, standard of living and improvement of health, free legal aid, uniform civil code, protection and

improvement of forests, monuments, places of national importance, promotion of peace, promotion of village panchayat, etc.

Now it would be desirable to analyse to what extend the welfare state in Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh have strived to achieve all these ideas. We can search answer in two ways to this question. One way is by providing statistics, such as Human Development index, GDP, People below poverty line etc in quantitative terms. It must be acknowledged that statistics prove that India is having poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, and rural backwardness, neglect of children, women, aged and downtrodden. No doubt in it, all ills are there. By implementing five decades of planned development what are the achievement in terms of health, education and rural development, which are the core area to understand the dimension of welfare and quality of life.

At the national level, no doubt, schools, colleges and technical institutes are increasing in number. Again the 100 per cent enrollment of children in the age of 5 will be taken care by Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan and it will also ensure that every child is enrolled and completes its primary education till 2007. Thus providing primary education is a realizable goal. Some may criticize by saying that drop out is there and female student drop out is higher etc, let us not forget our duty to send the children to the schools, instead we should not blame the welfare state. As far as educational development is concerned, the primary school enrolment is 136.25% in Andhra Pradesh, in Karnataka it is 119.16%, in Kerala it is 79.64%.

The dropout at primary school level is 41.49% inAndhra Pradesh, 21.90% in Karnataka, 7.86% in Kerala and 42.64 % in Tamil Nadu during 2001. In the last three years these states have almost achieved less than 15% dropouts except Kerala. Thus, it seems that one of the directives towards welfare, i.e., primary education is a reachable target.

As far as health is concerned the availability of registered and institutionally qualified Health Doctors rate in Andhra Pradesh it is 3.8 per 10,000 population, it is 3.5 in Karnataka, 7.2. in Kerala and 5.9 in Tamil Nadu and it is 6,7 for India. Similarly, the crude birth rate is concerned, Karnataka tops with 22 for 1000, followed by Andhra Pradesh 21.3, Tamil Nadu 19.3 and Kerala 17.9. For India it is 25.8.

As far as death rate is concerned, it is highest in Andhra Pradesh with 8.2 followed by Tamil Nadu with 7.9, Karnatka 7.8 and Kearala 6.4. For India it is 8.5 for 1000 population.

The cumulative performance ratio in health is concerned, it is 46.2 for India. Andhra Pradesh is 52.8, Karnataka is 56.3, Kerala is 39.6 and Tamil Nadu is 50.4.

Another important area by which we can understand the role of welfare is expenditure through special component plan for scheduled caste in the four states. This is 100% assistance from central government to state government. It is compared with total state plan out lay during 2001, Tamil Nadu allocated 19.4% of its state plan out lay for special component plan followed by Kerala 9.42%, Karnataka 6.12% and Andhra Pradesh 2.64 per cent.

Another area of welfare is rural development. Among the rural development programmes, Swarna Jayanthi Gram Swarozgar Yojna is a major one. In this scheme, total fund is utilized by Andhra Pradesh (100%), Tamil Nadu (138%), Kerala (145%), Karnataka (78.89%). Here 100 % refers to Rs. 708 crores.[6]

Table showing the Indicators of Welfare Measures in South Indian States[7]

Sl. No.	Indicators	States			
		Andhra Pradesh	Karnataka	Kerala	Tamil Nadu
1.	DecadalPopulation Growth 1991-2001	13.86	17.25	9.42	11.19
2.	Birth Rate	21.3	22.0	17.9	19.20
3.	Death Rate	8.2	7.8	6.4	7.9
4.	Infant Mortality Rate	65.0	57.0	14.0	51.0
5.	Population below poverty line	15.77	20.04	12.72	21.12
6.	Literacy Rate	61.11	67.04	90.92	73.47
7.	Expenditure on Education to total State Plan	12.98	17.94	18.73	19.76
8.	Expenditure on Health to total Plan	8.45	6.02	5.47	8.32
9.	Permanent type of Houses to total House hold	54.72	54.86	68.14	58.52
10.	Access to Safe Drinking Water	78.5	87.0	19.9	85.0

The above table clearly indicates the fact that Kerala remains first in literacy rate, household facilities and curbing the death rate. Karnataka is in top position in providing safe drinking water to its population. As far as AndraPradesh is concerned it ranks first in making expenditure on health for

its population. TamilNadu appears to excel in a number of sectors. It is interesting to note that TamilNadu occupies first position in allocating more for education in state planning and it stands next to Kerala in population growth, birth rate, death rate, literacy, expenditure on health and providing housing facilities. In providing safe drinking water, TamilNadu stands next to Karnataka.

If we consider the human development index of South Indian States Kerala stands first followed by TamilNadu, Karnataka and AndraPradesh.

Thus, it seems that the welfare state has almost made intervention in several fields including education, health and rural development. It is also true that the southern states have legislated several social welfare legislations including labour laws, land reform acts, child labour abolition act, law relating to women welfare and downtrodden. The major achievements in the development after Independence is enacting of 73rd and 74th amendment act which provided power to the people and vitalized local government institutions.

No doubt after independence as a welfare state India has almost make intervention in all walks of life to increase the quality of life of the people whether it is transport and communication, telecommunication, drinking water supply, building of social assets and protection of environment and etc. If at all there is divide and gap among the rich and poor, similar to digital divide, or dividing consumption and choice of good and services, it is due to lack of individual or institutional initiative, not to blame the welfare state. Welfare state as a concept is changing or changeable according to development, technological advancement and awareness of the people. When India was traditional welfare state it is fighting against poverty. When it is a marginal welfare state or progressive welfare state now we strive for improving the quality of life of the people. No doubt the welfare state will remain and our trust for improving the quality of life will also increase as an impact of globalization, liberalization and privatization. Incrementalism is the order of the day. What the welfare state in 1950's may not be of today. Because change only is constant and the concept of the welfare state is changing.

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Globalization, the Welfare State and South India

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There is neither a consistent theoretical explanation nor a categorical conclusion on globalization, for its still evolving nature. Nevertheless, this paper is an outcome of modest skepticism about globalization. The theme of the paper is globalization and the welfare state. The article is based on secondary sources of available literature on this subject and corroborative statistical evidences.

I

GLOBALIZATION

Amidst tens of hundreds of terminologies and strategies that adorn the pages of contemporary history, the word "*globalization*" is the most striking and often misused.

Definition

Globalization is nothing but opening of trade and trade opportunities at the global level; international trade in a new environment. With the opening of national markets for international trade, market economy has emerged. The keynotes of market economy are liberalization, privatization and globalization. India is one of the 146 countries of the world, which is thrown open to market economy. Whether one likes it or not, globalization has become a factor in economics, history, politics and culture of the people.

Roots of globalization

Though the idea of globalization can claim an illustrious intellectual

ancestry[1], it became a catch phrase since 1989 with the collapse of the USSR. Historically, the process of globalization is an outcome of 'de-colonization' and it had its roots in the 'cutting of the China melon'.

Meaning

Globalization is perhaps colonialism in a different form in a new surrounding of independent nation states. Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson exaggerated the importance and inevitability of globalization and warned about the 'disastrous consequences' to all nations of the world except the USA and China, if they withdraw from the world economy. Globalization refers to 'borderless economy' and it has thrown open a challenge to all nations of the world, for its nature of competitiveness.[2] Exploit and let others to exploit' is the parameter of globalization. The major players in globalization are the Multinational Corporations (MNCs) and the Trans National Corporations (TNCs) whose main objective is profit and not welfare of the people.

Not a panacea

Globalization is little more than the relabelling of international trade or colonial imperialism of the west. Globalization is used as a synonym for liberalization and greater openness and it refers to removal of administrative barriers to international movement of goods, services, labor and capital. In fact it is against 'protectionism'. Globalization is neither an inevitable process nor the panacea for a world economy.[3]

Capitalist imperialism

Scholars like Barry Jones and Richard Kazul say that globalization is a direct product of the voracious expansionism of modern capitalism. Capitalism as an economic system, particularly after the transition from communism taking place in Western Europe, set out to dominate world population, as never before in its history.[4] Globalization is almost the 'frightening trap' of western capitalist imperialism.

Even China, by far the largest non-capitalist economy, has undergone dramatic changes in its international economic policy orientation, and is today the recipient of almost one half of all the foreign direct investments that goes to developing nations- this in a country that essentially blocked all foreign investments until 1980's.[5]

Trans National Corporations are firms that engage in Foreign Direct Investment and thereby acquire a substantial controlling interest in a foreign firm. There are nearly 39,000 TNCs with 27,000 affiliates worldwide[6]. They

involve in production abroad also. The motive may be to establish closer contact with the local market so as to monitor its evolution and meet customer requirements better or the move may be a sort of response to import restrictions imposed by the local Governments. Finally, the motive for investment may be purely defensive, to forestall production by local rivals. Foreign investors have loomed large in the political economy of poor countries.

Multi National Corporations were seen to be a major source of continuing economic domination and political interference. "Economic Realism" is revealed through the dictum, 'flag follows trade'. Economic exploitation of dependencies leads to political exploitation. Viladimir.I.Lenin (1870-1924) formulated in 1916 the Marxist-Leninist theory of imperialism as the 'highest stage of capitalism'. Attempting to answer the puzzling non-occurrence of the expected collapse of advanced capitalist societies, Lenin envisaged two further developments in the progress of capitalism viz.,

1. Increase in concentration of capital
2. Increased overseas investment.

Capitalist as the owners of the means of production, employers of labor and sellers of goods and services produced, were thus in a position to pay their workers less than market prices. Such a regular and necessary extraction of 'surplus value' was the essence of the systematic pattern of exploitation, which was the key to its eventual self-destruction[7]. However, enthusiasts of globalization list out the advantages of TNCs and FDI that leads to increased productivity, additional employment, effective competition, rational production, technology transfer and etc.

Perceptions on globalization

To the Marxist leaning globalization marks the hegemony of Trans national capitalism in general and the institutional primacy of the Trans National Corporation, in particular leading to exploitation and inequity. To others, globalization marks general progress of internationalization of finance, production and economic transaction, to a level that now threatens the traditional functioning of the nation-state, ultimately the potency of the democratic policy and welfare programs. To yet another, globalization marks the standardization of production technologies and capabilities worldwide. However, as it has been said earlier, it could also be a sort of economic exploitation of the developing and third World Countries by the rich nations under the jargon of globalization.

II

WELFARE STATE

The concept of welfare state is not only popular among political scientists but also it increasingly gained currency amongst various forms of state. Welfare state is not confined to a particular form of government such as democracy, despotism and totalitarianism. Welfare state is not only like a 'hat' which has lost its shape because everybody wears it; but also a "a promiscuous word in the world of politics."

Definition

Welfare state is a form of government in which the state assumes responsibility for minimum standards of living for every person. "Welfare" as a purpose of government is not an invention of this century. The preamble to the constitution of the United States speaks of 'general welfare' as one of the purposes of the constitution. Yet the term 'welfare state' with its specific meaning of social and economic security of a basic minimum came into widespread use only during and after world war-II. Such general publicly sponsored program of social and economic welfare first called "welfare state" program in Britain[8].

Genesis of welfare state

During the world war-II, Winston Churchill appointed a committee (1941-42) headed by William Beveridge to revive social insurance scheme. Its recommendations generally known as the Beveridge Report (1942) proposed a comprehensive National insurance scheme that formed the basis of the Post-war 'welfare state'[9].

The formulation of the concept of welfare state was a European response to the mounting challenges of the consequences of industrialization, the fear of loss of men and material caused by world war-II and the experiences of economic depression of 1930s.

It has a chequered history from Bentham's (1748-1832) "Greatest Happiness Of The Greatest Number" to the Gandhian conception of Sarvodaya.

Meaning

Welfare state envisages a system of financial maintenance organized by government to protect individual against the loss of employment, old age and other misfortunes; to meet medical cost; and give support to families[10]. Democratic nations generally have a higher sense of such public responsibility

for the social and economic welfare of the individual because the whole democratic philosophy is based on 'respect for the individual'. In fact the bedrock of welfare state program is based on humanism and compassion. The program of the welfare state is quite often conditioned by factors like sources of political power and forces of economy.

Since the last decade of the twentieth century the welfare measures of the government had reached new dimensions due to the increased awareness about the importance of social and economic security.

III

RESTRUCTURING

Small and developing countries are trying to "grow" the economy by pleasing foreign investors through massive program of privatization, introducing layoffs and wage cuts in the public sector, corporate tax cuts, withdrawal of agricultural subsidies, cut in social spending and the like. South Africa is a country where 8 million homeless and nearly 5 million are afflicted with HIV positive. Some try to paint this deep inequality as an unavoidable legacy of racial apartheid. But Trevor Ngusane, a former African National Congress Municipal councilor said that it was the direct result of a specific economic "restructuring" program, embraced by the government and nurtured by the World Bank and IMF. The results have been devastating. Half a million jobs have been lost since 1993. Wages for the poorest 40% have dropped by 21%. Poor areas have seen their water costs go up by 50%, electricity by as much as 400%. Many have resorted to drinking polluted water leading to cholera out-break that infected 100,000 people[11]. This is the experience of South Africans and the track record of World Bank, IMF and the international moneylenders.

Conflicting interests

The enthusiasts of globalization encourage nations to adopt 'restrict policy' or 'selective industrial policy' or 'strategic way out' from the hegemonic and intervening influence of the TNCs in order to acquire capital, technology and marketing network and so on. Japan, Korea and Taiwan governments had the maximum use of TNCs without being hostile to FDI. But "locational advantages" and "productive assets" mostly influence the TNCs choice for FDI in a 'host country'[12]. Therefore, the poorest developing countries have weak bargaining power and so TNCs are aggressive in the trade expansion. In this process of achieving FDI, the poorest states will gradually

lose their 'regulatory powers' and ultimately the character of welfare state will be in crisis.

National interests of a 'host country' and ' corporate objective' of TNCs are often conflicting by nature because national interest is opposed to corporate profits. In all probability the narrow commercial objectives of TNCs and socio-economic and political responsibilities of a state are conflicting: the former would promote the corporate profit while the latter is for ameliorating people's welfare.

Institutionalization of inequity

One after another the rich nations shot down concrete proposals aimed at reducing poverty in the developing world. For instance, in 2000, G8 countries said "no" to a new plan to accelerate US $100 billion in debt relief for the poorest countries[13]. In the Okinawa Summit of the G8 countries, Japan's idea to set up a G8 fund to fight infectious diseases was turned down and backed away from opening their markets to farm goods from developing countries. Even more telling was the June 2002 summit of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization in Rome. The ambitious goal of the gathering was to reduce the number of hungry people by half from 800 million by 2015. Yet, of the 29 richest countries, only two sent their heads of state to Rome and one of those was Italy whose leader was already in town[14]. The Canadian Security Intelligence Service in its recently prepared report on the question, "why anti-global activists storming trade meetings?" The report notes, for instance, that protesters are enraged by " the failure to approve debt relief for poor countries" they believe that "many corporations are guilty of social injustice, unfair labor practices......... as well as lack of concern for the environment" and the institution governing trade are interested only in the profit motive"[15].

The side agreements of WTO namely General Agreement of Trade in Services pushes for more market access to public Services including health care, education and water. It restricts the ability of government to set and enforce health and environmental standards. The grim and worsening facts about globalization: Wage stagnation, dramatic increase in disparity between rich and poor and the erosion of basic services around the world. These inequalities and asymmetries, always bubbling under the surface, are now difficult to avoid[16].

Rhetoric and reality

Globalization is internationalization of a single economic model: neoliberalism. What is being designed at the WTO is not rules for trade but

template for all governments a kind of hegemony or unilateralism. And, it is this template, which is against the concept of democracy and welfare state. This type of authoritarianism swallows everything else- culture, human rights, environment, democracy itself – inside the perimeters of trade[17]. Poor countries that put the needs of their citizens before the demands of foreign investors are vilified as protectionists, even communists. Globalization was also supposed to be about a new system of equality among nations. It was so said that nations are coming together and agreeing to live by the same rules. But it is more evident than ever that the big players are still making the rules and enforcing them, often enforcing them on every one but themselves- whether it is agricultural and steel subsidies or import tariffs.

Today's globalizers are like doctors with access to single drug: Whatever the ailment- poverty, migration, climate change, dictatorships, terrorism- the remedy is always more trade and liberalism. There is not only gap between rich and poor countries but also between rhetoric and reality- between the promise of globalization and its real effect.

IV

WELFARE STATE vs GLOBALIZATION

Though India's achievements have been quite credible in areas of economic and social development, the overall success in the task, identified by Nehru, of 'ending poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity' have been quite limited[18]. Those tasks are supposed to be the priority of welfare state, in fact any state in general. The process of globalization in Indian Economy was initiated as early as 1991. But on the advice of the IMF and World Bank, the identified sectors of Nehru had to be neglected in the name of 'austerity measures'. UN Report on Human Development (2000) based on human development index, placed India in the group of "medium human development" countries and ranks it as 128 of the covered 174 countries[19]. It indicated rather poor state of Indian economy and its achievements. Life expectancy for India is 62.9 years (1998) whereas the average life expectancy in developing countries amounts to 64.7 years and it is 77 years in the "high human development" group of countries[20]. This emphasizes the need for major improvement of health, ensuring food security, access to education for the underprivileged and eradication of poverty.

India's major malady is poverty. In India, 44 percent of the population fall below poverty line of US 1$ income per day[21]. The Human Poverty Index (HPI) used in the United Nations Human Development Report gives India the

sad place of 58 in the rank list[22]. Around 400 million people live below the poverty line, the figure that is easily one fourth of the world poor. And it makes India the one country with the highest concentration of poverty in the whole world. The rate of poverty reduction has slowed in the 1990s and it has widened the gap between the richer and the poor. Two thirds of the world's poor live in Asia. The major objective for the region must be to reduce poverty. Deepak Nayyar & Sen have suggested that trade liberalization in India would be disadvantageous to the poor[23].

One of every three children has never been in school in India and half of the students never reach secondary school. This is a result of large number of children under the age of 16 who have to work. India's secondary school enrollment remains low at 49.4%. The poor and girls in particular are at great disadvantage in education: only 58% of female students complete grade 1 in contrast to 81% of male students[24]. Public expenditure on education stagnated at 3.5% of GDP in 1990 and 1995. Public expenditure on health fell from 1.3% of GDP to 0.7% in 1995[25]. Currently, about half of all children under the age of 4 are malnourished and around 60% of women in India are anaemic.

Free trade = Democracy

The World Bank and the IMF has lend money to the poorest and most desperate nations to build economies based on foreign owned mega projects. These projects may be a boon to MNC's but it led to always with more conditions attached by the faceless bureaucracies (IMF & World Bank). The IMF's structural adjustment policies are overt in their demands for Governments to cut social spending and private resources in exchange for loans. The history of World Bank has been to take power away from communities, give it to a central government, and then give it to the corporations through privatization.

IMF is directing governments to introduce user fees in healthcare, or to privatize a water system. When we discuss about the relationship between globalization and welfare state, we must look not only for presence of welfare state but also examine the day-to-day quality and depth of welfare program of the state. The unacceptable trade is the one that erodes sovereign rights in exchange for foreign investment.

In order to qualify for an IMF loan package, poor countries had to meet terms and conditions. For instance, Argentina was asked to surrender its sovereignty temporarily on all financial issues ... give up much of its monetary, fiscal regulatory and asset management sovereignty for an extended period.

Work of saving the country involves prying open markets, cut in social spending and massive privatization. People of Argentina protesting against IMF with placards raised "IMF go to hell" stormed the super markets demanding food. Tens of thousands Argentina citizens have organized themselves and ways of making their democracy accountable[26]. Free trade = Welfare state is the facile equation of euphorists of globalization. Welfare state cannot be given up in exchange for trade- Welfare state cannot be sacrificed at the altar of neoliberalism.

As the Indian Polity is a federal one, the units cannot afford to follow a policy quite different from the Union.

V

SOUTH INDIA

It is pertinent to have a macroscopic study on South India because of the variations in demography, welfare and development program.

Poverty

1.2 billion of the world's population is estimated to live in 'extreme consumption poverty'. More than two thirds live in Asia, and close to half, in South Asia. This at the turn of the century, is poverty's ghastly visage, as it emerges from the shadows to occupy center stage in policy prouncements: poverty alleviation was one of the key themes of the social development summit in Copenhagen in 1995, and few years later, the millennium summit 2000 (the 24th Special session of the General Assembly to the UN) adopted a declaration in which each member state resolved to bring down poverty to 50% by 2015.In the past too commitments to reduce poverty have figured in the agenda of the United Nations international agencies and governments- for at least a quarter of a century, but what is today is the prioritization of poverty alleviation 'as the primary mission of the global development agencies and national governments'[27]. This is marked by recognition of the need for a direct attack on the structural roots of poverty, which lie in insufficient access to productive assets, a deficiency of human resources and 'undemocratic access to political power'. With these concerns gravitating to the fore in policy-making spheres, terms like 'empowerment', 'inclusion' and 'ownership' comes to acquire currency in development vocabulary.

Urban poverty

It has been estimated that three fourths of the poor live in rural areas worldwide, but indications are that close to half will be living in urban areas by 2025. Thus, burgeoning urban poverty is poised to come dramatically into

prominence in the official efforts to focus on rural poverty. As per the estimates of the Planning Commission's Expert Group on Estimation of Proportions and Number of Poor, rural poverty declined by 29% points, from 56.4% to 37.3% between 1973-74 and 1993-94, while urban poverty declined by only 17% points, from 49% to 32.4% in the same period. The faster rate of decline of rural poverty, the Lakdawala Committee Report suggests, maybe due to greater thrust of governmental poverty alleviation programs in rural areas; according to estimates of the National Institute of Urban Affairs, while the ratio of urban to rural poverty is 1: 3.5, the ratio of funding is 1: 35. Despite this, while poverty data for 1973/74- 1995-97 show a stalling of rural poverty decline (which seems largely due to a lack of growth in the rural sector); this was not the case in the urban sector, where moderate growth appears to have led to a decline of urban poverty.

The need of the hour in tackling urban poverty, as stated by the Working Group on Urban Poverty of the National Commission on Urbanization (1988), is the task of ' ...adequately feeding, housing and employing a large and rapidly growing number of under-nourished, semi-literate, semi-skilled, underemployed and impoverished city dwellers who are living on pavements, on poorly serviced hutments, in unhygienic slums, illegal squatters and other forms of degraded and inadequate settlements, and who are struggling to make a living from low paying and unstable occupations, in a reasonable life span ... ' Persistent rural to urban migration, the Seventh Plan (1985-90) noted, had led to rapid growth of urban slums and overcrowding in the unskilled and the low paying jobs of the informal sector.

As far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, the share of rural population has been dwindling. The size of the rural population was at 3.49 crores of the total population of 6.21 crores in 2001-2002. The percentage of rural population was 73.31 in 1961; whereas it was 65.85 in 1991 and the same has dwindled to 56.14 in 2000 - 2001. Over a period of 10 years nearly every one person out of 10 rural people migrated from rural to urban and thereby increasing the urban population as well as urban poverty[28]. The incidence of rural poverty in Tamil Nadu was 29.16% as per Union Planning Commission in 1999-2000. Out of the total rural population of 3.49 crores nearly 1 crore population comes under rural poverty.

Poverty and penury had reached an alarming stage in one of the states of South India[29].

To address to the problem, there was a need for a major thrust on employment generation and skill formation. Two points may be made here. A

focus on reduction of rural poverty can stem the tide of job seeking urban. ward migration, and so help mitigate the pressures on the urban infrastructure. Second, the policy climate in India for tackling urban poverty is in tune with the pro-pro growth paradigm that has emerged into prominence at the global level. This, in fact, is part of a broader policy shift in India on issues pertaining to poverty. From the Fifth Plan onwards, there has been an emphasis on poverty alleviation, for a welfare and service based approach to expansion to employment opportunities and improving the productivity of low-productivity jobs. Community participation in the management of urban services in the policy sphere also augurs well for the active involvement of the poor issues that are of vital concern to them.

Gender literacy and education

In India one of the most deep-rooted form of inequality is gender disparity. Research findings generally indicate that women are the disadvantaged gender both in rural and urban areas of the country. It is corroborated by the quantitative and qualitative data available at the macro level. Gender disparity in literacy and education is one important dimension of gender inequality and is contingent on other factors of gender-discrimination, which have been inherited from the traditional society.

Education has been recognized as critical in the Directive Principle of State Policy of the Constitution of India, where it is stated: "The State shall endeavor to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this constitution, free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. While the country has made significant progress in literary achievement since the constitution came into effect, it is still considerably short of its goal of universal education. Notwithstanding the special emphasis on the universalization of education in the educational policy statements of 1986 and in the revised version of 1992, and the genuine efforts and intentions of the government, universal education has yet to be achieved. In this process of universalization of education, the girls are lagging behind the boys.

The literacy level varies from the states as well as from the social groups. Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs) are the most disadvantaged groups in the country. In the education of SCs/STs there are a large number of structural constraints due to which progress in literacy and education has not been commensurate with that of the general population.

The literacy gap between male and female still remains at 21.68% points. Literacy gap is not uniform all over India. There are significant variations in

literacy gap across the states. States that rank above All India Literacy Gap of 21.68% points are Jammu and Kashmir, Uttaranchal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Orissa, Chattisgarh, and Madhya Pradesh. The position of Gujarat is close to All India Literacy Gap. It is lowest in Mizoram with 4.56% points, followed by Kerala with 6.34% points. Some Northeastern states like Meghalaya, Nagaland have a literacy gap of less than 10% points. The general trend is that the higher the general literacy level, the lower is the gap in literacy between male and female.

The gender gap in education can be understood only in the wider context of female disadvantage in India. Gender bias pervades all sphere of life. "The cycle of disadvantages starts before birth and continues from neglect of female children through to widowhood. The problem is exacerbated further when gender disadvantage is compounded by class, caste and religious discrimination. However, it is heartening to note that while literacy rate of Tamil Nadu was almost comparable to all India position in 1941. The state has moved ahead of all India after independence. The results of 2001 census show that Tamil Nadu had attained third position behind Kerala and Maharashtra, among major states, both in terms of overall and female literacy. While the overall literacy rate has gone up to 73.47% in 2001, the male literacy rate has increased to 82.33% and the female literacy has gone up to 64.55% in 2001. The ratio of male literacy to female literacy has come down from 1.4 in 1991 to 1.27 in 2001 revealing the narrowing of gender inequality in Tamil Nadu[30].

Health

Tamil Nadu's performance on health front has been impressive. The state has created sound health infrastructure over a period of time. Thanks to implementation of multifarious health schemes. The death rate, birth rate, and infant mortality rate have been on the decrease and life expectancy has been increased as shown in the following table.

Table showing death rate, birth rate, infant mortality and life expectancy

Health front	1971	2000
Death rate(declined)	12.7%	7.9%
Birth rate(declined)	31.4%	19.2%
InfantMortalityrate(decreased)	113/1000	51/1000
Life expectancy(increased)	36 (1941-51)	67 (2001-06)

Source: Tamil Nadu An Economic Appraisal, 2001-2002

The death rare, birth rate and infant mortality has been on the decrease. While the life expectancy has increased from 36 to 67 as shown in the table, female life expectancy has also increased from 37 in 1941-51 to 65 in 2001-2006[31].

Conclusion

I may conclude, the views of different Economists and Political scientists. One view is that globalization stands like octopus, and the small and poor nations are helpless prey. Another radical view is that ninety per cent of the worlds income goes to ten per cent of the Americans. There is some truth in this, that in India during the last seven years, more than half a million, small and medium size factories were closed and more than twenty million people or rendered jobless. There is also a view that under globalization, the economic growth rate is increasing and at the moment it stands at 10.4 per cent and by 2020 India will be a developed country. However, the welfare state is not only in crisis but bidding farewell to domestic economic and cultural values.

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5

Bhoomi Versus "Bhoomi": Governance, Land Question and the State in the context of Globalization in Karnataka

PROF. MUZAFFAR ASSADI

This paper centers around five propositions:

1. That there are three important factors that pushed the Karnataka government to fall in line with globalization
2. That globalization brought in new crises in the realm of the state
3. That globalization also created crises from within the economy
4. That in the process the state has emerged as "ambiguous state"-
5. That state has not totally surrendered to globalization nor completely shunned away from the welfare model

Globalization has created binary opposition at all the levels: euphoria and " hate", semantic confusion and definitional problem, ambiguity of discourse and process of beginning, historical narrative and contemporary contestation, "Jehad versus Mc Donald: etc. At the same time it is true that we have multiple forms of globalization: "Grassroot globalization", "Capitalist globalization"(Peter Michael, 2002:2), "Corporate Globalization", Neo Liberal Globalization, " Third Wave Globalization", "Economic Globalization", (Frances Fox Piven, 1995, 550), "Political Globalization " "Technological Globalization", (Peter Marcus, 200, 24), "Globalization from below" and finally "Regressive Globalization"

All these ambiguities are very much apparent in the political discourse of the Karnataka state. This is the reason why the Karnataka state has not been able to define precisely the meaning of globalization. Most of the time

globalization has been treated as "wave", "process" a " trend" a " phase" a "challenge etc. This ambiguity has created spaces for crises of the state and also for crises from below. This is apparent at different level. One important site to understand the crises is "Bhoomi". "Bhoomi" denotes few things in the context of globalization. One, it denotes the concern to introduce e-governance and thereby to create direct access to land records. Two, it denotes land related question, such as agriculture and three "Bhoomi" represents " land related identity and cultural practices".

There are three important reasons why Karnataka government fell in line with the globalization. One of the reasons is to meet the challenge posed by the globalization from outside. This is apparent in the policy document, " the recent wave and trend of globalization have thrown challenge coupled with direct and indirect impact on the socio-economic life and environment of the people all over the world particularly in the developing countries. The fear of dominance by the developed over the developing countries in the international arena seems to have attracted the attention of all in the recent times".

Second important reason was the external pressure exerted through the means of loans and aid etc. This is apparent in the World Bank loan amounting to Rs, 12,000 crores extended to Karnataka . Its loan is meant for various reform measures such as fiscal and expenditure reforms involving "a multi-year framework to improve fiscal transparency, tax and expenditure policies, public expenditure management, and financial accountability and procurement transparency. Secondly, it also involves administrative reforms to improve the efficiency and transparency of the administration, civil service reforms, right to information, deregulating and privatizing the state sectors, poverty and human development monitoring system to increase the capacity of the state to monitor poverty and reorient policies towards poverty reduction".

The third important reason was to beat the neighboring states in the matter of attracting global capital and thereby project the Karnataka state, "a modernist", " post-modernist" state on the one hand and Bangalore as " Silicon city " of India on the other.

All these have manifested in different forms. Karnataka state has become one of the leading state to attract "Foreign Direct Investment." During the second half of 1990s, the state became the third largest recipient of FDI among the major Indian states, accounting for nearly 19 per cent of FDI approved to the top six recipient states." It took the lead in convening Global Investor's Meet which was meant to open up various projects to global investors, such

as air port, highway, Thermal Project, eco-tourism, agro industry park, jewellary park etc. In fact, during this time Karnataka government cleared 17 projects worth 7,215.80 crore, generating direct employment for 7,619 people. In other words its ratio was 1: 0.90 crore . Karnataka state also convened annual conference on development economics of the World Bank. Even it invited Bill Gates and other global capitalists to Karnataka .The latter has delivered two projects to Karnataka- Smart School – an educational programme and "Bangalore One" portal – citizen's services initiative

Secondly, large numbers of Multinationals have entered into the Karnataka. Incidentally more than 125 multinationals are located in Bangalore alone. Multinationals have been given attractive packages: assurance of continued supply of water (Coca Cola), tax exemption for next 3-5 years, exemption from the payment of entry tax on all input and capital goods, exemption in stamp duty, and registration charges, exemption from the electricity charges for captive generation sets, rebate while buying land, etc.

Finally, as Economic Survey argues, the " state has enhanced the regulatory framework of the state, reduced barriers to starting new business, decreased budgetary support to public enterprises, and improved the revenue productivity of taxes by bringing about changes in the rate structure, tax base, tax administration and enforcement mechanism"

All these do not mean the end of the state or the welfare programmes of the state. It is here one can visualize the crises of the state. The crises is apparent at two levels:One, the state while adhering to the principles of globalization could not withdrew totally from the interventionist mode. Two, the state at the same time could not withdrew either from the realm of globalization

In the first case there are reasons why the state could not withdrew totally from the interventionist mode or from the realm of welfarism. One of the reasons is that it would become counterproductive to itself. This is because of the fact that total withdrawal from this mode would not only suicidal for the large number of population who are depending upon the state for their growth, development and survival. At the same time it is a fact that it was the " subsidy state' that sustained large number of population at different realms. In addition, the withdrawal would also create the crisis of regime and the politics. This is the reason why the state always tried to avoid these crises emanating from below

It is in these crises that the new policy measures and also public expenditure in different sector needs to be located. In fact in the latter case the

public expenditure has not come down rather it has increased. This is apparent in the state funding of different sectors. One key sector is irrigation. Between 1990-91 and 2001- and 2002 the public investment in irrigation sector has multiplied by hundred times (from 276.21 crore rupees to 2970.93 crores during this period).

Bhoomi Versus Bhoomi:

To fall in line with the globalization the state of Karnataka has introduced large number of new policy measures. Two important policies require our focus: policy on land and policy on agriculture. These two policies, which I would like to call them, "Bhoomi Versus Bhoomi" are the classic case for ambiguous state and also contradictory results: on the one side it succeeded in introducing 'e-governance" and on the other it created spaces for sharpening crises from within which have translated into larger "agrarian crises".

1. Bhoomi as E-Governance

Karnataka is one of the states to introduce e-governance in land records. Earlier the Andhra government embarked upon similar project called "TWINS" which promised to provide transparency in land records. However, "Bhoomi" is a part of broader state policy called "Mahiti" which aims at taking information technology to the grass root level. This is in other words Computerized Land Record System. In fact, it has changed the way people buy the land and pay the taxes to the government. Incidentally the policy of e-governance was very much in existence during the early decade of 1990 supported by the central government but was not operationalized till recently.

There are reasons why project "Bhoomi" was justified. In fact, land has been the major source of income; it is the center of identity and also cultural practice. More than, that land has been the major source for raising loans, disputes, pledging, including the growing specific crops etc. Further records were essentially used for the purpose of security of tenure, bail in criminal cases, getting scholarship for the children, planning purpose etc. Land rights, which are bestowed through the records of rights, however, it had large number of loopholes. In fact, in Karnataka there are more than 67 lakh rural landholders, who are spread across 177 taluks and 30,000 villages, they account for nearly 20 million records of rights, tenancy and certification (RTC).

Secondly, land records were literally managed by village accountant numbering around 9000. The earlier system was marred by corruption, harassment, inefficiency, malpractice, delay, manipulation and appropriation.

Earlier to the "Bhoomi" project two types of records were maintained by the village account: one, Registers, indicating the present or the current ownership of each parcel of land, its " area and cropping pattern" and two, "village maps that reflected the boundaries of.each parcel". On the contrary,"Bhoomi " is a unique system in which farmers or the peasants including the institutions having property can get their Records of Tenancy from a kiosk installed at the taluka headquarters by paying Rs.15 per record. Its main objectives were, "to facilitate easy maintenance and updation of land records due to irrigation/natural calamities, consolidation, legal changes, like transfer of ownership, to provide comprehensive scrutiny to make land records tamper proof, to provide required support for implementation of developmental programmes which require data on land holding distribution, to prepare annual set of records in the mechanized process such as collection of land revenue, updating of cropping pattern etc". This system of registering, submitting and getting the necessary document made easy. It uses the touch screen system, which has become easy to operate. This system has biometric security system that uses the thumb rather than password to take out the copy of RTC. The entire system is in vernacular language. This system also allows the required changes in the records of land. It is in this context the hand written land records have been rendered illegal. Most important is the fact that this system is available to the peasants at any time of the day and that they can have direct access to all information about their land or property. More than that the land records through "Bhoomi" would be used in the banks, courts and other government agencies. Since the land records also generates various types of reports on land ownership by size, type of soil, crops etc which would be beneficial for such programmes as poverty alleviation, supplying agricultural inputs. It is also thought that this system would lead to better implementation of ceiling on land holdings etc.

Nearly twenty million land records have been computerized. Incidentally each record has 45 fields, which comes to around 70 million. All these fields have been computerized.

All these have made the peasants to have easy access to their land rights. Its success can be gauged from that fact that the numbers of peasants who have availed the "Bhoomi" are increasing. This can be seen from the following chart. The total number of farmers availed in the whole Karnataka stood at 1,50,58,280 (December 2003)and the Cumulative User Charges Collected was Rs. **22,58,74,196(December 2003)** In fact, every month the state receives Rs.7.5 million from the project, even though it has spent Rs.185 million towards implementing the project

No	District	User Charges Collected During the Month of December 2003	Cumulative User Charges Collected	No of farmers who availed Bhoomi services during the month of December 2003	No of farmers who availed Bhoomi services from the inception
1	Bangalore (Rural)	4,28,955	77,84,995	28,597	5,19,000
2	Bangalore (Urban)	4,56,015	78,18,608	30,401	5,21,241
3	Bagalkot	18,45,900	1,42,62,935	1,23,060	9,50,862
4	Belgaum	17,84,550	2,07,45,180	1,18,970	13,83,012
5	Bellary	3,24,075	69,70,190	21,605	4,64,679
6	Bidar	17,34,55	49,12,600	11,564	3,27,507
7	Bijapur	22,48,755	1,25,30,180	1,49,917	8,35,345
8	Chamrajnagar	1,51,095	27,05,070	1,00,73	1,80,338
9	Chickmaglur	3,73,975	69,19,470	24,932	4,61,298
10	Chitradurga	5,98,140	68,41,306	39,876	4,56,087
11	Dakshin Kannada	5,18,910	95,14,405	34,594	6,34,294
12	Davanagere	3,17,960	82,83,921	21,197	5,52,261
13	Dharwad	10,38,645	67,08,910	69,243	4,47,261
14	Gadag	11,99,690	52,65,130	79,979	3,51,009
15	Gulbarga	5,22,840	98,67,059	34,856	6,57,804
16	Hassan	10,36,215	1,21,27,539	69,081	8,08,503
17	Haveri	4,84,670	63,90,895	32,311	4,26,060
18	Kodagu	1,34,395	34,93,975	8,960	2,32,932
19	Kolar	4,62,745	80,94,859	30,850	5,39,657
20	Koppal	6,01,230	48,62,477	40,082	3,24,165
21	Mandya	4,62,535	92,92,750	30,836	6,19,517
22	Mysore	4,50,515	90,49,285	30,034	6,03,286
23	Raichur	4,16,895	59,57,921	27,793	3,97,195
24	Shimoga	3,29,520	89,66,960	21,968	5,97,797
25	Tumkur	5,45,955	1,24,48,165	36,397	8,29,878
26	Uttar Kannada	3,88,046	85,71,661	25,894	5,71,444
27	Udupi	3,34,040	54,87,750	22,269	3,65,850
	Grand Total	**1,76,30,081**	**22,58,74,196**	**11,75,339**	**1,50,58,280**

Secondly, it received the silver award at the 2002 CAPAM (Commonwealth Association of Public Administration and Management) . Meanwhile it also received the appreciation of World bank for the simplicity of technology and security of software.

Al though there are weaknesses it does not operate when there is different tenurial practices, feudal structure operating in "benami" names etc, however, the "Bhoomi" has made the task of peasants to collect their RTC much easier, transfer of land much easier, it has reduced the culture of bribe, it has able to made the peasants to be connected to new concept of e-governance. Finally, "Bhoomi' has rendered the peasants to retain their land and land linked identities much closer. It is here that peasants are not experiencing the "loss of Bhoomi" or "loss of identities"

However, loosing "Bhoomi" as land and land-linked identities is looming large in the adoption of New Agricultural Policy and the subsequent crises that the agrarian sector has undergone over the years

2. "Bhoomi" as Land and Agrarian economy

To bring out radical transformation so as to cater to the needs of globalization, agricultural sector has been made the victim. In fact New Agricultural policy was mooted during the middle of 1990s. It is here the state agreed to the fact that it was the globalization/liberalization that prompted the latter to introduce new agricultural policy. "The objective of this policy document is to spell out a clear direction for strategy to create a prosperous rural society in Karnataka. It aims at spurring growth in the agricultural and allied sectors by taking advantage of opportunities opened up by trade at national and international levels, in an overall environment of economic liberalization." It is here its desire to larger market, investment of private capital and link the local economy with the international market is apparent

In fact, Private investment is sought in seed technology, marketing agro-processing, horticulture, floriculture, aquaculture, dairy farming, poultry, meat processing, seeds multiplications, cold storage, and research and development (R and D). To support the seed technology the NAP has favored the leasing in land, .The tilt towards privatization is once again reiterated in the matters pertaining to price and market development: support to private sector towards the construction of cold storage, construction of warehouses, relaxing the rules of export and import of goods, air conditioned warehouses for horticultural products, floriculture, fishing and a separate agro channel to disseminate knowledge about the markets, supply of capital and price

movements. However, the NAP has proposed assigning the task of collecting water rates and electricity charges to different peasant organizations on the basis of a commission. On their failure private sector entry is preferred.

Towards capitalist development in agriculture the NAP has also proposed the floating of an exclusive agricultural finance corporation, amalgamating different leading banks with a single window scheme for disbursing loans. Meanwhile the NAP has cautioned peasants that they should not expect any more concessions or subsidies in the matters of interests or loans, including the fertilizer

Towards this end, the state government has brought in different policies. One of the policies is the amendment to the land reforms act. This has added new dimension to the definition of agriculture. For the first time aquaculture has been added in the definition of agriculture; secondly, it allowed leasing out land for aquaculture; thirdly, it allowed the leasing out land by small peasants, and Dalits, fourthly it increased the land ceiling and finally it gave the government " a free hand to exempt to any extent of land for any specific purpose". All these have created the fear of loosing "Bhoomi" as it gives more scope to the "corporate landlordism" to enter into the domain of rural areas

However, the land question once again came through the issues of Bio Technology. Incidentally two important issues received much focus: Bt.Cotton and Terminator seed. In fact Karnataka government introduced Vision group on biotechnology in 2001-2002. Next year the state government came out with Millennium Biotech Policy. It is in these policies that the fear of loosing the actual land to the agribusiness, "Corporate landlords", Multinationals is very much apparent.

Agrarian Crises and Crises of the state

It is in this larger context of globalization that one needs to locate the growing crises of the state and also crises of agrarian economy. The agrarian economy is undergoing tremendous crises that are now manifested in growing number of peasants' committing suicide that belongs to unorganized sector. More than six hundred peasants have committed suicide in different parts of Karnataka. Although it began in North Karnataka, it spread to every district, cutting across the barriers of caste and communities including the crops. Most of those committed suicide might have had some amount of loan, however, in every suicide one find the issues of loosing identity mediating through the land is apparent.

Secondly these crises are apparent in the collapse of particular economy that has completely opened up to the vagaries of globalization. One such economy is coffee economy. Here too the fear of loosing their land is much more apparent, as the amount of indebtedness has increased, the prices are collapsing, the class position of the categories are changing. Their crises have manifested in the form of series of agitations, demanding concessions to them.

Meanwhile the state is also facing the crises of addressing the issues judiciously. It is here its ambiguous nature becomes apparent. This can be seen in the way it tries to come to rescue of one sector neglecting the other one. The state tries to underplay the effects of globalization for the present day agrarian crises. This is apparent in the way the committee reports have been written which tries to look at the issues of suicide and agrarian crises to personal issues. In fact, one of the reports, popularly known as Veeresh Committee report came out with nineteen reasons for the peasants committing suicide such as: domestic problem, marriage of daughters, water related subjects, love affairs and broken marriage, indebtedness, loss in business, neglect of agriculture, investment on non-crop production of activities, chit funds/gambling/money lending, bore well failure, crop failure, alcoholism, criminal acts, chronic illness, family history with suicidal tendency, accidental poisoning etc. It nowhere blamed the state for the present day crises nor the globalization. In addition it is silent about the role of larger market in accentuating the agrarian crises, translating into farmers/peasant suicide. Interestingly its recommendations, including the recommendations made earlier by the Joint House Committee also nowhere made attempts to understand the changing nature of "Bhoomi- land and agrarian identities " in the context of globalization. Incidentally the Joint House committee came out with fifty-five recommendations, and Veeresh committee twenty-five.

Reasons for Suicide as Identified by Veeresh Committee Report

Sl No	Reasons	Per cent
	A. Social Factors	
1	Domestic Problems/personal problems/discord/ (quarrels, problems with children /wife/parents	12.32
2	Marriage of daughters/Sons/sisters	5.42
3	Land and Water related disputes/property sharing/ property disposal	3.94
4	Love Affairs and broken marriage	1.48

Sl No	Reasons	Per cent
	B. Economic Factors	
5	Indebtedness	12.32
6	Loss in Business (Cattle Trade, Agricultural produce, Poultry, Vehicles and Hotel)	5.42
7	Neglect of Agriculture. Non - cultivation and participation in other activities	4.93
8	Investment on non - crop production activities (animal husbandry, house construction, purchase of luxury items, machines etc	3.94
9	Chit funds/Gambling/Money lending	2.96
10	Well/Bore well failure crop failure indebtedness	2.46
11	Crop failure and indebtedness	1.97
	C. Behavioral Factors	
12	Alcoholic Related problems	13.79
13	Criminal Acts (Misuse of Funds/Criminal Case/ Bribing for job)	1.97
14	Introvert	1.97
	D. Personal and Health Factors	
15	Chronic Illness/Disease of Victims and/or family members	11.82
16	Family history with suicidal tendency	2.46
	E. Other Factors	
17	Did not own lands and reasons for suicides not known	2.46
18	Accidental Poisoning and drowning	0.99
19	Natural Deaths	0.99
20	Suspected Homicides	1.48
21	Reasons not known	4.93

Source: Govt of Karnataka, Farmer's Suicides in Karnataka: A Scientific Analysis (Report of the Expert Committee for Study on Farmer's Suicides, Bangalore, and 2002 pp.64-65

Secondly, its crises can be seen in the way it declared package to agricultural economy to over come the crises,(this is a part of welfare nature)

at the same time it tries to avoid distribution of compensation to the family of deceased on flimsy ground . Many families of farmer's were denied the compensation on the ground that they had taken loan for "family purpose' than for agriculture, for conducting "marriages", the deceased has not reached the age of twenty three, the deceased had no "patta" land, farmer committed suicide before the government order etc. Although the state had come out with relief package, however, it hardly reached the family of deceased.

Thirdly the state made discrimination between the organized sector of agrarian economy and non-organized sector on the other. This can be seen in the away it came out with series of concessions to those who have completely identified with the global market than with the local economy. This is apparent in the series of concessions extended to the coffee economy than to the other economies. It extended the loan repayment period, increased the moratorium on loaners, included several long term loan component under SCTL, directed banks to provide credit finance for exporters, allowed sanctioning of fresh loan to those who pay seventy five per cent of loan amount. This is because of the fact that the coffee growers and the state have identical interest in accentuating process of globalization; and secondly, the coffee growers belonged to organized sector who have been controlling the state machinery through their economy. It is here the ambiguous nature of the state comes into existence

All this does not mean the absence of welfare model in the state. Although the welfare model is slowly retreating but they are not completely "rolled back". They require as political agendas and political tools otherwise it would become counterproductive to the state. It is in this context the state emerges as "ambiguous state". Karnataka state is not an exception to such a categorization- this situation has created spaces for "ambiguity of the state". It is this ambiguous state that would continue to operate or exist in the post-globalization phase.

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6

Welfarism, Globalization and the State of Tamil Nadu, 1991-2003

DR. K.A. MANIKUMAR

Jawaharlal Nehru's idea of providing India with a structure of governance well suited 'to feed the starving people, and to clothe the naked masses, and to give every Indian the fullest opportunity to develop himself according to his capacity' found its articulation in the Directive Principles of State Policy. Article 39 in Chapter IV of the Constitution, laid down the duty of the state as one of ensuring that 'the ownership and control of material resources of the community are so distributed as best to subserve the common good... (and) that the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and the means of production to the common detriment.'[1]

Despite the vision of national leaders, reflected in the Constitution, policy makers in India were always pessimistic about social security measures. In a imperfect political system, where the traditional landed gentry still wields enormous clout, the welfare measures hardly reached the targeted groups. Some fifteen years ago, Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, said, 'out of every rupee spent only sixteen paise reached the targeted beneficiary.' Later the World Bank commented that to provide one rupee benefit to the poor, the government of India spends between Rs. 2 and Rs.7.

The policies designed by the state to reduce the fiscal deficit often came in the way of creating a true welfare state in India. In consequence, India did not create welfare state in true sense of the term as in western countries. Take for instance the case of Germany where social benefits and services until a decade ago accounted for 33.3% of the gross domestic product

and in 1994 exceeded 1,100 billion DM. The contributions to pension, sickness and unemployment insurance formed 39% of the labour cost in the country in 1994. Every resident in Germany can claim child benefits for one's children.[2] Social assistance that meant for covering the living expenses in Germany included food accommodation, clothing heating and every day personal requirement. The Employment Promotion Act provided for a wide range of benefits. Under this Act, any one who had worked for at least 12 months in the last three years but thrown out of job was entitled to unemployment benefit amounting to 67% of the previous net wage. The period for which unemployment benefit paid was 32 months.[3]

In India, as a study undertaken by Michael Tharakan indicates, Kerala that stands top on the list of Human Development index (0.675 for Kerala, while for the rest of India it is 0.375) has spent 1.84, 1.98 and 2.03 per cent in 1992-93, 1993-94 and 1994-95 respectively for social security in its total expenditure budgetted.[4] Tamil Nadu, sixth in ranking, in its best of times (1990-91) was spending 9.15 per cent of the Gross Domestic State Product on social sector. Table I shows how even the meagre sum allocated has been further reduced during the globalization phase.

Table:1

Social Sector Expenditure in Tamil Nadu as % of GSDP

		1990-91	2001-02
1.	Education, Sports Art & Culture	4.13	3.14
2.	Medical, Public Health & Family Welfare	1.24	0.87
3.	Water Supply & Sanitation	0.47	0.47
4.	Other Services	2.27	1.63
	Total Social Services	8.11	6.11
5.	Rural Development	1.04	0.36
	Total Social Sector	9.15	6.47

Source: I. Ramabrahmam, *"Policy Shifts in Welfare Domain,"* unpublished paper, 2004.

The late S. Guhan, former finance secretary of Government of Tamil Nadu and later Professor of Economics at Madras Institute of Development Studies always maintained that growth by itself will not be automatically

translated into human development and eradicate poverty. In a country where the poverty rate is high, (52 per cent, as reported by Times of India on 12 May, 1997) Guhan believed, it will be necessary for the state 'to design social security programmes that are not only compatible with our domestic realities but also address more directly and effectively the problems of poverty and deprivation.'[5]

Anticipating adverse consequences of globalization, the Ministry of Finance in a discussion paper titled "Economic Reforms, Two Years After (1993) and the Task Ahead," admitted that the contemplated structural reform would entail enormous social costs, and hence stated the government's commitment to create a social safety net for the purpose of minimizing the hardship likely to be imposed on any section of labouring class.

Fiscal discipline forces limits on Government spending and this may affect the pace of implementation of programmes in the social sector which are especially critical for the well being of the poorer sections. Economic restructuring may also involve temporary loss of jobs in certain sick and unrevivable units as labour is redeployed into other expanding or new units. While total employment may well increase in the process, it is necessary to ensure that the hardship imposed on any section of labour as a result of restructuring is minimized.[6]

But whether the commitments stated in the document of the Finance Ministry have been honoured by the governments both at the Centre and in Tamil Nadu, what have been the experiences of countries which went in for "structural adjustment" earlier and in Indian context what are the policy measures adopted by the Tamil Nadu government during the period from 1991 to 1996 and later three years since 2001 are the aspects this paper highlights in the forthcoming sections.

II

It was claimed that the new economic policy involving structural adjustment programme (sap) was poised to take a country to a rapid development process. James Wolfenson, President of the World Bank, speaking at the annual meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund at Hongkong in September, 1997 said, "We must recognise that we are living with a time bomb and unless we take action now, it could explode in our children's faces.... Three billion people live on less than $2 a day, and 1.3 billion on less than $1 a day; 100 billion go hungry each day and 150 million do not get a chance to go to school.... They have one thing in common: they do not want charity; they want a chance. They do not want

solutions imposed from without; they want the opportunity to build from within."[7]

But the outcome of path charted by World Bank (WB), as the available data suggest, has been disastrous. Almost all the developing countries which followed the IMF / WB models of development have invariably landed themselves in high indebtedness, growing poverty, widespread disparity and social tensions. Writing on the Somali crisis, an economist argued that 'IMF and the World Bank waded in 1980s only to deepen contradictions, destroy the foundations of stability, erode the legitimacy of the state, intensify poverty and alienation and lay the foundation for the more popularly known version of the Somali experience.'[8]

In Nigeria when the military regime took the IMF loan and went in for structural adjustment the outcome was one of a crippling poverty. The per capita income of the country declined from US $1500 in 1980 to $ 395 in 1995. Nigeria, which was considered as one of the richest nations in the world in 1980, was classified by the World Bank as one of the poorest in 1995.[9] Similarly in Mexico, as a result of economic restructuring since 1986, poverty and inequality have been growing rapidly in Mexico. Between 1980 and 1987 wages dropped by almost 30 per cent. There was acute problem of unemployment because of the disappearance of small and medium industries. According to a study, long term unemployment increased by 21.9 per cent from 1987 to 1995. A Mexican statistical agency recorded a 44.5 per cent decrease of workers in the industrial sector alone.[10] The poverty line was officially fixed at 600 pesos per month (US $80). Based on this measurement there are 42 million poor people, out of the total population of 101million.[11]

In India, since 1990's, the Central government took a different stance from its earlier position in 1950's as it has chosen to pursure the neo-liberal policy. Besides its policy of disinvestment of government shares in public sector enterprises as well as abandoning of protectionism pursued in foreign trade, the Central Government has entrusted the task of handling of grain export with private exporters and allowing them to enter into the grain market. At a time when a report of the London School of Economics on the state of Indian economy, vis-à-vis its agriculture has pointed out that a third of the world's 860 million plus people who go to bed with an empty or half filled stomach are from India,[12] this move has left the food security of the country in peril.

The Antyodaya Scheme, announced by the Centre is a poor substitute

to meet the ground reality, as it is no way better than the already existing Targeted Public Distribution System (TPDS). Under this scheme, food is made available to a small subset of Below Poverty Line (BPL) population at the subsidized rate of Rs.2 a kg of wheat and Rs. 3 a kg of rice. When the TPDS itself is faced with the problems of under-numeration and misidentification of BPL households etc., the proposed programme will be fruitless. The Electricity Act of 2003 enacted by the NDA government at the Centre has necessitated the dismantling of the State Electricity Boards, setting in motion the process of privatization in generation and distribution of electricity too. For want of space no further elaboration is attempted about the Central government's policy of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG), as the focus of the paper is on Tamil Nadu.

The TN Government followed neo-liberal economic policy in 1991 along the lines of Union government. Because of the liberalization, privatization and globalization, most of the govenments were compelled to withdraw certain welfare measures, TN was no exception to that. While reviewing the impact of the New Economic Policy initiated since 1991, in a seminar organized by Manonmaniam Sundaranar University in 1997, at the end of two day deliberations it was concluded that the alienation of land, water, and forest resources from agricultural, fisher and tribal communities to private interests and the degradation of these resource bases as a result of corporate control were the aspects which had impact on Tamil Nadu villages. The copper smelting, sand mining and aqua-culture industries were identified as three main areas where agricultural lands and the coastal shores had been acquired to undertake production processes which in turn had polluted land and water sources and endangered the health and well being of communities living in the vicinity.

In search for resources, TN government allowed the installation of sterlite company in Thoothukodi, which was shifted from Ratnagiri in Maharashtra. Likewise, the Koodangulam Nuclear Power Project was resisted and almost shelved in early 1980s was launched without any difficulty and today reported that the power from Koodangulam unit is likely to flow ahead of schedule.[13] The evidence of collusion of corporate and state interests in flouting the Coastal Zone Regulation Act by permitting hazardous industries in ecologically sensitive region has been opposed by the scientists but to no avail. The polluting effluents threaten the health of both agricultural and fisher communities in the area.[14]

Aquaculture is another instance of corporate appropriation of resources

and environmental degradation. There were 967 aqua farms in Tamil Nadu in 1997. Intensified prawn production had increased the salinity of ground water, depleted the fertility of the soil and left agricultural communities with no grazing land for cattle. Sand mining was another issue relating to loss of control over common property resources. In Perumanal of Tirunelveli district, a company, V.V. Minerals, took out a 20 year lease in 1995 on a sizable acreage of shore space for its operations. The removal of sand, it was pointed out, led to sea water intruding into villages and caused damage to both houses and kattumarams of fisherfolk by the encroaching sea water, destruction of the breeding grounds of inshore marine life, ground water salination and destruction of trees and agricultural crops. Furthermore, fish workers were denied the right to land their kattumarams and to dry their nets along that shore space.[15]

According to Ms. Nalini Nayak of the National Fishworkers Forum, the open export system resulted in further marginalization of women fish vendors who found it more and more difficult to compete with the big export merchants for fish. Nalini Nayak contended that since these women provided cheap protein to both coastal and inland communities, their limited access to fish was also creating a food crisis among these populations. This crisis was further exacerbated by the expansion of export varieties to include virtually all species of fish. Finally, as she argues, the licensing of foreign industrial fleets to tap the deep sea resources within the Indian exclusive economic zone threatens to flush the nets of even the small mechanized sector of the domestic economy. Reportedly these foreign vessels have been provided with fuel at highly subsidized rates while the investment costs are rising sharply for small fishermen who use imported engines and are forced to purchase fuel at exorbitant prices.[16]

III

Actions were initiated to bring out fiscal reforms to meet out a huge requirements of funds for the effective functioning of the sort. More so, the government has made its commitment to bring down the fiscal deficit as percentage of the Gross Domestic Product below 5 per cent by 2007-09. The government poliocy towards union rights, withdrawal of certain monetary benefits enjoyed by government employees, the ban on recruitment in government service, which was withdrawn later the scrapping of power subsidy to the agrarian sector and the move to privatize the public transport system were some of the reformatory process carried out by the government.

A committee constituted in June, 2002 under the chairmanship of the

Chief Secretary of Tamil Nadu, to look into the finances of the 21 state run transport Corporations recommended structural reforms implying privatization. This was announced in the state assembly by the Transport Minister in May, 2002. As there was spontaneous resistance for the denationalization move, the Chief Minister had to make a volte-face and clarify that there would be no privatization of the transport corporations but only privatization of certain select routes and services. It was later proposed to withdraw 7, 742 of the12, 905 buses operated in Chennai and districts. This meant retrenchment of 50,000 to 60,000 workers, which has however not put into operation.[17]

Privitization of bus routes is resisted on the ground that a large number of people particularly the poor, who are fully dependent on the relatively cheap State transport facility, will be worst affected. About 25 lakh students who are traveling long distances to schools and colleges, are also expected to be hit as they will lose the full/half fare concessions extended by these corporations at a cost of over Rs. 77 crores a year. It is also reported that other beneficiaries such as disabled, the mentally retarded and cancer patients will also lose substantial fare concessions. Small farmers will lose the facility to carry their agriculture produce to the Uzhavar Santhai.[18]

The state government's proposal to open up agriculture to corporate giants under its Comprehensive Wasteland Programme (CWP) is yet another effort at economic restructuring. Under the programme 5.74 lakh hectares of fallow and wasteland are to be distributed amongst 200 corporate houses from across the country. There are reportedly 1,500 applicants. They include major corporate houses such as TVS, Reliance and Parry.[19] The total cost of the project, involving about 20 lakh ha., which the Tamil Nadu Watershed Development Agency (TAWDEV) is to implement has been estimated at Rs. 1,485 crores. Under the scheme, the corporate sector will develop one lakh hectares of waste land into orchards, using drip and sprinkler irrigation and other infra-structural facilities. Cash crops such as medicinal plants, herbs, aromatic plants, spices, condiments, oilseeds, vegetables, cotton, silk and cashew plants will be cultivated under the scheme. The first component namely the participatory watershed development-is already operative in 10 districts. In the first phase of the project, which is to be completed in five years, 55,000 ha of land has been taken up in the financial year, 2002-2003. A total land area of 18.5 lakh ha, involving rain-fed agro-forestry and the cultivation of fruit trees, will be brought under participatory watershed development through private sector participation under contract system.[20]

The second component envisages the leasing of government land to

private sector operators at concessional rates. The maximum period for lease of land to corporate houses will be 30 years. The ceiling norm for the land to be leased to each applicant is 1,000 acres (404.85 ha). In respect of land below 20 acres, cooperative societies and small companies will be given land on lease. No allotment to individuals is possible under the scheme. It has been pointed out that the government order is violative of Part IV of the Constitution and also the Tamil Nadu Land Reforms (Fixation of ceiling on land)Act, 1961. Again under the Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act, 1994 lands vest in the panchayats. The government can not take over the land without the consent of the panchayats and the duly constituted gram sabhas.[21]

The labour welfare has also been affected because of the fallout of globalization. The government has done very little to open the mills and factories closed in Coimbatore and elsewhere. The woeful condition in which the labourers have been groaning in the industrial towns is yet to be recorded. A large number of small-scale industries in industrial estates of Ambathur, Guindy and Hosur have been closed down. To preempt any organized protest by trade unions, on May 6, 2002 the Tamil Nadu Essential Services Maintenance Bill, 2002, was introduced by the government, which provided for punishment of upto three years of imprisonment with a fine of Rs. 5000/- each not only for the participants in a strike but also for those who call for the strike or instigate workers to go on strike, or extend any financial assistance for the conduct of the strike.

The Act (TESMA) covered wide range of government services. Apart from services relating to the supply of water and electricity, passenger and goods transport, fire fighting and public health, civic services provided by the local bodies come under the purview of the Act. Employees of the Assembly and the High Court and any public services and posts in connection with the affairs of the state also come under the purview of the Act. The Act empowered the government to declare as essential any other service or employment or class thereof connected with any matter with respect to which the State Legislature has power to make laws.[22]

IV

Having highlighted the policies pursued by governments both at the Centre and in the State, and the issues emerged therefrom, let us see how they have impacted in a Tirunelveli village, which included two hamlets namely Keelakottai and K. Kailasapuram. Keelakottai was one of the villages intensively surveyed by the Census Department in 1961as a part of an attempt to see how the developmental programmes had reached the interior villages

of post-independence India. This village was resurveyed recently by the author as a part of a project organized by the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvananthapuram through Institute of Development Alternatives, Chennai. The study of this village, focusing on transformation from 1961 to 2001, betrays the sad state of affairs obtaining there in the context of fiscal reforms initiated since 1991.[22]

Even as early as 1961, Keelakottai's attainment of literacy was above the district and state averages. This lead in literacy continues to date with the village recording 67% in 2001. The achievement in female literacy is reflected in small family norm and high sex-ratio. While agriculture has not helped much to improve their socio-economic status, Education and government jobs seem to have enabled the dalits of this village to emerge assertive and articulate. This has been decisively demonstrated in the relative backwardness of the Devendrakula Pallars of Keelakottai hamlet who have clung to agriculture and suffered hardship. In contrast, the Veeranattu Pallars of Kailasapuram hamlet, who, by taking to education, have bettered their economic as well as their social standing.

The higher primary school run by Tirunelveli Protestant Diocese and St. Michael Elementary school have rendered stupendous service in meeting the educational needs of the village. The Diocese has been permitted in 1998 to offer IX and X standards in St. Michael School without government's financial grant as the government had given up its policy of providing aid any longer to the new classes to be started in government aided institutions. In Catholic-run elementary school where the student strength is 180, instead of five teachers, there are only two teachers. The villagers strongly feel that the standard of education in the school has fallen and point out the increasing tendency of the parents to send their wards to matriculation schools in the neighbouring Thurayur village or in Palayamkottai.

The development of road and transport system has broken the isolation of the village and facilitated free mobility of the people. The conversion of Pallars into Christianity and the significant part played by the Catholic and Protestant missionaries in setting up schools went a long way towards motivating the residents of Keelakottai and Kailasapuram to take to education. The Congress government in its halcyon days of socialism drew the blue print for the restoration of Parakirama Pandian tank in this region. The whole area had been assigned to private cultivators and the colonial government had issued pattas (title deed) under ryotwari settlement. About 1649.79 acres of land had to be acquired from patta-holding private individuals, paying a compensation

of Rs. 200 per acre with a solatium of 15%. This the then government did with political will. The restoration of the tank provided additional food production of 365 tons. Though the cost was estimated at Rs. 6,91,350/- in 1959, when the work was completed in March 1969, the total cost worked out to Rs. 12,04,253. Keelakottai village is covered by water discharged from Sluice No:1. Today the total area of land irrigated by this tank is about 1006 acres.[23]

At present there are 23 wells and 16 tube wells fitted with compressor pumps owned by Keelakottai dalits. Kailasapuram people have 29 wells and 9 tube wells. The availability of water in the wells depends on the monsoon rain and the resultant filling of the Prakrama Pandian Tank in the village. There were no pump sets in 1961. Today, the village has about 50 pump sets. But distressingly, the channel excavated from Uppodai to feed the Parakram Pandiyan tank has become dilapidated now. The tank's bund which has breached also needs to be strengthened. A proposal prepared in the year 1998 at an estimated cost of Rs.1 lakh is gathering dust. It is in keeping with the government's low priority for irrigation. The failure of monsoon in the last five years has still worsened the condition. Water for agriculture purpose was earlier sold to marginal and small farmers by the owners of the tube wells at the rate of Rs.40 for the water pumped every hour. In consequence of deteriorating ground water level these days, those who have no well water source face a trying situation.[24]

Earlier the people of this village were raising millet and cotton. They had abandoned millet cultivation in the wake of tank irrigation and taken to Paddy, cotton, chilly cultivation. A few of them have taken to sugarcane cultivation too. This they say was because of restoration of tank in the sixties. Thorny bushes occupy the plots where once millet and groundnut were grown. They are leased out for making charcoal. The inflow of rain water into the Parakrama Pandian tank has been blocked because of breach in the embankment. As the only water source of the village is in a state of disrepair, there is gloom today.

The prices of crops like cotton and chilly fluctuate wildly today and hence the Keelakottati farmers prefer to cultivate vegetables. The Uzhavar Santhai (Farmers' Market) set up by the State has not been of any use to the farmers of this interior village. The government's scheme has only benefited the farmers living on the outskirts of towns and cities. The villagers suggest that the district administration should evolve a mechanism to buy the produce at a fair price from the farmers of interior villages. When the government

both at the Centre and in the State is giving price support system a go-by, the Keelakottai villagers are hit. In agriculturist families, where some body is educated and gainfully employed there is no visible melancholy. The families that depend entirely on agriculture for their sustenance are managing the distress either by pledging their jewelry or by incurring a debt.

The farmers adopt modern methods of cultivation like the use of fertilizer, pesticide and tractor. Yet the reply one invariably gets from the farmers owning land, ranging from 2 acres to 5 acres, whether one was from Keelakottai or Kailasapuram, is that they could not get a fair price for their produce. When output agricultural prices were low, the input prices have been raised, catching the peasantry in double squeeze, to quote the words of economist Prabhat Patnaik. Fertilizer prices have been raised. Light diesel oil, used for running pumpsets, was levied an additional tax of Rs. 1.50 a litre, and this is in addition to the general hike in petrol and diesel prices.[25] Rs. 500 crores in the form of Price Stabilization Fund set up for tea, coffee, and rubber will, however, benefit the local plantation lobby and not the peasantry.[26] Selvin who owns 5 acres of dry land and B. Shanmugasundaram who owns 2 acres of dry land in Kailasapuram told me with out any inhibition that should the monsoon fail or in the event of a drastic fall in the price of farm products, they would have to sustain their livelihood only by "cutting woods."

Keelakottai hamlet, which was a mother settlement in the beginning, had almost lost its status to Kailasapuram during the period of study. This is attributed to the total dependence of the people of Keelakottai on agriculture. For Keelakottai Devendrakula Pallars, who are mostly marginal farmers, agriculture is dear to their heart and so they did not take to education in any big way. In contrast, the three-fold increase of households in Kailasapuram is explained as an outcome of the importance given by its inhabitants to education and public employment. Many of the educated persons, even as late as 1980s, after employment chose to live in their native village. Even those settled elsewhere made it a point to buy land in their native village, which was looked after by their family members. Things are changing now in the context of deteriorating agricultural condition. and vanishing employment avenues. The educated youth out of despair have left the village to take up employment in Tiruppur, Erode and Coimbatore.

The work available in the village in average works out to 90 to 110 days in a year. This has hit the landless labourers very much. The total number of persons returned as agricultural labourers in our survey is 270 in Kailasapuram and 322 in Keelakottai. Yet only 47 landless labourers work in

the Pallar lands in the village. In the context of deteriorating agricultural condition, the Keelakottai villagers, have taken to cattle and poultry rearing to supplement their dwindling income. But the lack of support of scientific health care for cattle and poultry from the district veterinary centre, which is like any other government department is experiencing financial crunch, has made cattle and poultry rearing economically non-viable.[27]

The Committee for agricultural labourers constituted under the aegis of the Director of Land Reforms Department P. Kolappan IAS recommended in 1998 that the wage for agricultural labourers must be calculated on an hourly basis, fixing of Rs. 12.50 for every hour with 6 hours work for men and 5 hours work in a day for women. The Committee while pointing out that even in areas covered by tank system of agriculture provide work for 100 to 120 days, recommended de-silting of tanks or raising bunds or repairing channels to provide employment to the landless labourers (without using the machines) or providing relief for them during the days of no work as in the case of fish workers during rainy seasons and days of storm. The labourers should be brought under Employees State Insurance as in the case of factory workers; Festival advance and a marriage loan by the government to retrieve them from the clutches of usurers; Old age pension of Rs. 300 per month after 60, and Contributory Group insurance scheme (collecting Rs. 10 every month) Equal pay for equal work, Insurance for crops and cattle are the significant recommendations of the Committee.[28] But Keelakottai agricultural labourers are neither organized on class basis nor affiliated to any peasant organization to press for the implementation of Kolappan Committee Report.

It is distressing that out of 1008 people in Keelakottai, 451 persons (235 males, 216 females) have been returned as unemployed. Even in the relatively prosperous Kailasapuram 485 persons (219 men and 266 women) have reported that they had no employment and income. Because of monsoon failure and neglect of the State in repairing the Parakrama Pandian tank, the thriving agriculture of this village has suffered much. There are a number of graduates and post-graduates remaining jobless. They constitute combustible material in the existing social context. Curiously, one crime cited prominently in 1961 monograph and reportedly committed by the dalits of the village even now, associating even women, in illicit brewing. This crime has surfaced again in the village. Last year, seven women and one man have been convicted for this offence. Beedi rolling done by women only helps to ameliorate the condition to a great extent. When beedi industry takes to automation, what will be the fate of these hapless villagers is anybody's guess.

V

What do the above foregoing facts convey? Ramaswamy Sudarshan, Senior economist and Assistant Resident Representative UNDP, in a paper presented at a seminar conducted by Satyamurthy Foundation in 1997 cited the brilliant observation of the political philosopher Brian Barry, to drive home the point at issue. I think I should end this essay by quoting it *in extenso*:

> I think it must be conceded that it is possible to create a society in which the response to market failure is not a swing to socialism, but an exacerbation of individual efforts to stay ahead by making and spending yet more money. Does the public health service have long waiting lists and inadequate facilities? Buy private insurance. Has public transport broken down? Buy a car for each member of the family above driving age. Has the country - side been built over or the footpaths eradicated? Buy some elaborate machinery and work out at home. Is air pollution intolerable? Buy an air filtering unit and stay indoors. Is what comes out of the tap foul and chock-full of carcinogens? Buy bottled water. And so on. We know it can all happen ...[29]

I have been doing little more than describing Southern California. Now it is worth noticing two things about the private substitutes that I have described. The first is that in the aggregate they are probably much more expensive than would be the implementation of the appropriate public policy. The second is that they are extremely poor replacements for the missing outcomes of good public policy. Nevertheless, it is plain that the members of a society can become so alienated from one another, so mistrustful of any form of collective action, that they prefer to go it alone.[30]

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7

Globalization and its Effects On Business In TamilNadu

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Introduction

Globalization means globalizing the marketing, production, investment, technology, and other activities. The entire globe is just like one country for business. Globalization implies integration of the economy of the country with the rest of the world economy. There are three components of globalization of business namely (i) Free flow of goods & services (ii) Free flow of capital and (iii) Free flow of technology. The features of globalization are: Operating and planning to expand business throughout the world, eliminating the differences between domestic market and foreign market, trade in goods and services from / to any country in the world, establishing business concerns in any part of the world based on feasibility and viability rather than national consideration, product planning & development are based on market requirements of the entire world, using the factors of production and inputs like raw-materials, machinery, finance, technology, human resources, managerial skills from the entire word. Global orientation in strategies, organisational structure, organisational culture and managerial expertise, setting the mind and attitude to see the entire world as a single market.

India's economic integration with the rest of the world was very limited because of the restrictive economic policies followed until 1991. Indian firms confined themselves, by and large to the home market. Foreign investment by Indian firms was very insignificant. With the new economic policy ushered

in after, there has been a change. Globalization has in fact become a buzzword with Indian firms now and many are expanding their overseas business via different strategies. Gigantic flows of capital and technology have stimulated trade in goods and services. There are a number of favourable factors for globalization of business in India.

Economic Liberalisation : The Economic liberalisation in India is an encouraging factor of globalization. The delicensing of industries, removal of restrictions on growth, opening up of industries earlier reserved for the public sector, import liberalisations, liberalisation of policy towards foreign capital and technology etc, could encourage globalization of Indian Business.

Competition : The growing competition, both from within the country and abroad, provokes many Indian companies to look to foreign markets seriously to improve their competitive position and to increase business.

Non-Resident Indians : The large number of non-resident Indians who are resourceful in terms of capital, skill, experience, exposure, ideas etc. is an asset which can contribute to the globalization of India business.

Expanding Markets: The growing population, disposable Income, and the resultant expanding internal market, provides enormous business opportunities.

Growing Domestic Market: The growing domestic market enables the Indian companies to consolidate their position and to gain more strength to make foray into the foreign market or to expand their foreign business.

Industrial Base : India has a very broad resource and Industrial base which can support a variety of businesses.

Human Capital: India has one of the largest groups of scientific and technical man power. The number of management graduates is also surging. It is widely recognized that given the right environment, Indian scientists and technical personnel can do excellently. Similarly, although labour productivity in India is generally low, given the right environment it will improve substantially. While several countries are facing labour shortage and may face diminishing labour supply, India presents the opposite picture. Cheap labour has particular attraction for several industries.

There are some advantages and disadvantages of globalization :

i) It creates employment opportunities.

ii) It increases standard of living of the people.

iii) It results in availability of high quality goods at lower prices.

Disadvantages

(i) It kills domestic industries. For examples, number of textiles units in Ahmedabad, number of electronic units in Delhi, number of consumer goods industries in Mumbai, paper mills in Coastal Andhra and leather units in Chennai were closed.

(ii) It reduces demand for domestic products.

(ii) It exploits human resources

(iv) It widens the gap between rich and poor.

The restrictive economic policies of the past effected the competitiveness and growth of the Indian industry in general. The economic policy albeit suffering from certain defects is a welcome change.

In many cases, size is an important factor which influences the competitive power. Economic liberalisation by pruning down the list of industries reserved for the public sector, delicensing and amending the MRTP Act, has provided an environment which enables companies to grow fast, both internally and externally. The growth plans of many Indian companies (e.g. The Reliance group, The modern group, The Kirloskar group, ITC group and the Arvind Mills) indicate a great leap forward.

Most of the studies show that the gap between rich and poor countries is widening at a fast pace. Hence, free trade proponents have encountered severe criticism from labour unions and environmental groups who claim that the elimination of social control mechanisms has resulted in a lowering of global labour standards, severe forms of ecological degradation, and the growing indebtedness of the global South to the North. The internationalization of trade has gone hand in hand with the liberalization of financial transactions. The key components include the deregulation of interest rates, the removal of credit controls and the privatization of government-owned banks and financial institutions. Globalization of financial trading allows for increased mobility among different segments of the financial industry, with fewer restrictions and greater investment opportunities. This new financial infrastructure emerged in the 1980s with the gradual deregulation of capital and securities markets in Europe, the America, East Asia, Australia, and New Zealand. A decade later, Southeast Asian countries, India and several African nations followed it. During the 1990s, new satellite systems and fibre-optic cables provided the nervous system of Internet-based technologies that further accelerated the liberalization of financial transactions.

The world bank estimates that India will posses the fourth largest economy in the world by 2020. The merging global scenario will open up greater opportunities for countries with a surplus of well educated, highly skilled labour, that can provide an attractive commercial environment for the outsourcing (use of external agents to perform one or more organisational activities) of manufacturing and service businesses from high and even middle income countries. India's recent boom in outsourcing of IT (Information Technology) services, further facilitated by declining costs of international communication and transportation, only points to the wide range of economic opportunities existing in the manufacturing and service business. At the same time the pressure for export of highly educated and highly skilled individuals will also increase. So that a significant migration of scientific, engineering and medical talent is likely to continue. Export of service is a field in which India, can excel. Computerisation, coupled with low - cost global tele communications are generating rapid growth of trade in service business, such as software and IT enabled services. India already commands an impressive 18.5 per cent share in the global market for customised software and the Indian software industry in the fastest growing in the world. A NASSCOM - MCkinset report estimated that by 2008, the global market for IT enabled services alone will exceed $1000 billion, and that India's export of IT service will exceed $50 billion, which is double the country's total export of goods and services in 2000[1].

This paper explains the effects of globalization regarding the development of information technology and industrial investment in Tamil Nadu. Among the major states, Tamil Nadu occupied the second position in terms of number of factories and employment generation and Third in respect of gross value of output and the fourth in fixed capital, productive capital and value added[2].

Information Technology in Tamil Nadu

The Information Technology (IT) is a linchpin of rapid economic growth. The beneficial impact of IT is cost-effective, pollution-free, time saving and source of external economies. In terms of high quality and employment generating, the impact of technical revolution is indeed great, particularly, in the context of mitigating the problem of educated unemployment. Tamil Nadu is one of the leading states in development of Information Technology.

At the National level, the contribution of Information Technology sector has increased from Rs.5450 Crores in 1994-95 to Rs.64200 crores in 2001-02

accounting for 0.59 per cent and 2.87 per cent of the GDP growth, respectively in the corresponding periods. Table below throws light on distribution of hardware and software exports.

Quantum of Export of Software

(Percentage)

Description	1994-95 Rs.5,450 crore	2001-02 Rs.64,200 crore
Software and Service Exports	28.3	57.4
Domestic Software and Services	17.9	17.3
Hardware, Peripherals and Networking	48.4	22.3
Training	5.5	2.9

Source: X Five Year Plan, Tamil Nadu, State Planning Commission

The country's highly skilled software services industries tops the must-be destination of global information technology firms. Economies of scale and quality of services offered by software firms increased the competitiveness of the Indian Information Technology in world arena.

Value of domestic software and software for exports put together increased from Rs.6,300 crores in 1996-97 to Rs.48,134 crores in 2001-02. Out of software value of Rs.48134 crores, software for exports accounted to as high as 76 per cent.

Exports of Domestic Software

(Rs. Crore)

Item	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02
1. Software for exports	3700	6500	10940	17150	28350	36500
2. Domestic software	2600	3470	4950	7200	9400	11634
Total	**6300**	**9970**	**15890**	**24350**	**37750**	**48134**

India has been exporting software to many countries such as United States of America, United Kingdom, Japan, etc. The U.S.A. is the principal importer of Software from India. Table below highlights the quantum of software exported from India as of 2000-01 in descending order.

Direction of Export of Software, 2000-01

Country	Rs. in crore	Percentage
USA	17336	61.15
UK	3355	11.84
Japan	1021	3.60
Germany	900	3.20
Singapore	540	1.90
Canada	425	1.50
Netherlands	360	1.27
Switzerland	340	1.20

Source : X Five Year Plan, Tamil nadu, SPC.

Status of Information Technology in Tamilnadu

The State continues to remain the favourable destination for Information Technology (IT) investments. A 'Tamil Nadu IT Council' under the Chairmanship of Hon'ble Chief Minister had been constituted to address the IT-related policies on a continual basis in order to ensure that Tamil Nadu achieve a pre-eminent position in the country in the IT sector. Information Technology and bio-technology are sunrise industries. These two industries are the State's Unique Selling Proposition (USP). The State has decided to leverage it USP of an "intellectual power house" to invite multinational companies to set up research centres and BPOs.

With a view to enhancing the State's competitiveness in this ever growing industry, the Tamil Nadu Government has evolved a comprehensive Information Technology Policy in 1998. The growthing impact of this thriving industry could be assessed from the magnitude of rapid growth in software exports from Tamil Nadu. The value of exports from this sub-sector increased from Rs. 393 crores in 1997-98 to Rs. 1246 crores in 1998-99 and further to Rs. 1914 crores during 1999-2000. As of 2001-2002, the State had 865 software units. It increased from 766 units in 2000-2001 registering a growth of 12.29 per cent. For the corresponding period the value of software export from these units was Rs.3116 crores during 2000-01 and went up to Rs.5223 crores in 2001-02 recording a growth of 67.61 per cent. 2001-02 was comparatively a lean year for the IT industry in general due to worldwide recession in this sector. In software exports the State occupied second position next only to Karnataka. There is no denying the fact that the share of service sector in total Gross State Domestic Product would go up sizably in the coming years.

Growth of Software Industry in Tamil Nadu

Year	Number of Software Units	Value of Software Exports (Rs. Crores)
1993-94	10	2
1994-95	23	12
1995-96	34	37
1996-97	69	161
1997-98	108	393
1998-99	166	1246
1999-00	596	1914
2000-01	766	3116
2001-02	865	5223

Source : State Planning Commission, Chennai - 5

The establishment of a Software Technology. Park (TIDEL) at Taramani, near Chennai commissioned in July, 2000. (jointly promoted by TIDCO and ELCOT) at an estimated cost of Rs. 340 crores, houses a number of leading Information Technology Companies. To quicken the pace of IT growth, it is proposed to establish similar technology parks in Coimbatore, Tiruchirapalli and Madurai. Besides, the Government had proposed a Special Economics Zone (SEZ) at Nanguneri in Trirunelveli district for spurring economic growth in this industrially most back ward area. Consistent with its expertise in the area of services rendered by the software units in the State during 2001-02, the application software business stood first in number of units (257) and the value of software export (Rs.2259 crores), followed by the onsite consultancy services as detailed below.

Export Performance of Software Units by Expertise Area of Service

Sl. No.	Area of Expertise	2000-01		2001-02	
		No. of units	Value of Export (Rs. crores)	No. of units	Value of Export (Rs. crores)
1.	Application Software	138	1167	257	2259
2.	Onsite Consultancy Services	30	739	36	1717
3.	System Software	32	626	33	702
4.	IT enabled Services	71	260	114	340
5.	Web Applications	56	121	60	185
6.	Product Packages	25	43	15	17

Source : X Five Year Plan, Tamil Nadu, State Planning Commission.

Chennai district has the distinction of having larger number of software units because of relatively having high teledensity. Geographical distribution of software export unit is displayed below.

Distribution of Software Units

Place	No. of Units (2000-01)
Chennai	676
Coimbatore	66
Madurai	5
Trichy	2
Tirupur	2
Vellore	1
Dindigul	1
Tirunelveli	2
Erode	1
Thanjavur	1
Total	**757**

Source : X Five Year Plan, Tamil Nadu, State Planning Commission.

Tamil Nadu is a favoured destination for Information Technology because of the fact that the well qualified software personnel have high expertise in handling Information Technology. The computer education which has received the thrust it requires is supported by high quality higher education and availability of a pool of English speaking manpower. Because of these endowments, Tamil Nadu achieved 14.7 per cent of all India's software exports. The SIPCOT has developed a thousand acre Information Technology park for allotment of land to Information Technology Companies. Mahindra Park, a joint venture of TIDCO, ILFS and Mahindras has developed an area of 1700 acres for giving impetus to Information Technology in the State. In addition to the above initiatives Tex City - a software park with 9000 sq.ft. space is located close to Coimbatore Airport to stimulate prospective software developers to locate their office places. Thus, Tamil Nadu is increasingly emerging as the preferred destination for B.P.O. and outsourcing in the field of Information Technology. It is the policy of the Government not only to sustain the growth in this sector but also accelerate it in the coming years.

Moreover, it needs a special mention that a near-revolution in computer literacy had taken place in Tamil Nadu with the Government providing all that Higher Secondary Schools in the State with fully equipped computer labs (at the rate of one computer for every 40 students) by netting in reputed computer companies. This will go a long way in boosting the skill-intensive services and laying an intellectual foundation.[3]

Industrial Investment in Tamil Nadu

Tamil Nadu has made great strides in attracting industrial investments. Between May 1991 and January 1999, out of the total investment commitment of Rs. 1315017 crores for the country as a whole, Tamil Nadu's share was Rs. 151187 crores, accounting for 11.50 per cent, standing first amount the major States as indicated below:

State-wise Industrial Investment

Rank	State	Investment Inflow (Rs. Crores)	Percentage Share
1.	Tamil Nadu	151187	11.50
2.	Maharashtra	151058	11.49
3.	Gujarat	146703	11.16
4.	Orissa	114033	8.67
5.	Karnataka	107703	8.19
6.	Andhra Pradesh	106364	8.09
	All India	**1315017**	**100.00**

Source : CMIE, April 1999, Mumbai.

Relatively better infrastructure facilities, skilled manpower and the prevalence of industrial harmony are the major factors that attract industrial investment in the State.

Tamilnadu encourages Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the State. Foreign Direct Investment is required to complement the State's efforts in accelerating the process of industrial growth. Availability of industrial infrastructural facilities, abundant supply of skilled and efficient labour force along side the transparent investment-friendly policy of the Government, Tamil Nadu has emerged an important destination for foreign investment in the country. As per the Secretariat for Industrial Assistance, Government of India, the total Foreign Direct Investment approved for Tamil Nadu during the post economic reform period (from August 1991 to January 2002) was Rs.23100

crores accounting for 8.41 per cent of the total FDI cleared for the country as a whole. Tamil Nadu was placed third in the floor of FDI next to Maharashtra and New Delhi. For the State, out of 2052 approved projects, 1525 were financially approved and the remaining 527 were approved technically. A number of major industrial projects are to come up shortly in the State to enable the State to achieve number one position in industrialisation in India.

Select Major State-wise Foreign Direct Investment During Post Liberalisation Policy Period (From August 1991 to January 2002)

Sl. No	State	No. of Approvals			Amount of FDI Approved (Rs in Crores)	Percentage to total
		Total	Technical	Financial		
1.	Maharashtra	**3771**	1130	2641	48035	17.49
2.	Delhi	1801	205	1596	33251	12.10
3.	Tamilnadu	2052	527	1525	23100	8.41
4.	Karnataka	1828	443	1385	21294	7.75
5.	Gujarat	1021	499	522	17367	6.32
	All India	**21127**	**6966**	**14161**	**274715**	**100.00**

Source : Secretariat for Industrial Assistance, Government of India.

The industrial relations in Tamil Nadu was better during the year 2000 with reduction in the number of strikes and lock-outs, workers involvement and the man-days lost. As textile is the major industry in the State, the strikes and lock-outs in this category has been higher (53%). However, it may be noted that the number of strikes and lock-outs in textile industries had declined from 108 in 1998 to 72 in the year 2000.

Incidence of Strikes and Lockouts

Industry	No.of Strikes & Lockouts		
	1998	1999	2000
Textiles	108	92	72
Engineering	20	7	3
Tanneires	2	4	6
Tobacco & Beedi	2	1	-
Plantations	8	4	3
Others	90	58	51
Total	**230**	**166**	**135**

Source : Commissioner of Labour, Chennai - 6.

The industrial relation in the State was comfortable even during the year 2002 with reduction in the number of workers involved and the man-days lost due to less number of 99 strikes and lockouts only. During 2002, in textile industry, the number of strikes and lock-outs in this category had been higher at 62 per cent with 52 percent of workers involvement which caused 56 per cent of mandays lost. However, it may be noted that the number of strikes and lockouts in textile industries had declined to 61 during 2002 from 72 in the year 2000.

Promotional Agencies

For the Development of industries the following promotional agencies viz., Tamil Nadu Industrial Development Corporation Ltd., (TIDCO), State Industries Promotion Corporation of Tamil Nadu Ltd., (SIPCOT), Tamil Nadu Industrial Investment Corporation Ltd., (TIIC), Tamil Nadu Small Industries Development Corporation Ltd., (SIDCO) and Electronics Corporation of Tamil Nadu Ltd., (ELCOT) have been established by the State Government. These agencies undertake diversified activities such as project financing, provision of infrastructural facilities and worksheds, establishment of growth centres and implementation of investment subsidy and sales tax deferral schemes[4].

CONCLUSION

In addition to these several manufacturing & trading companies operating in Tamil Nadu are already leading players. Tamil Nadu is also major player in Two - wheelers and bicycles. Tamil Nadu is the largest producer of several agricultural commodities.

If the firms of Tamil Nadu have the facility to obtain the latest technology in the world, to raise finance from the cheapest source and procure the materials from the best in the world, they will be on equal footing with the foreign firms in many respects.

Notes and References

1 India vision 2020. The Report of Planning commission, Govt. of India.
2 Tamil Nadu - An economic appraisal - 1999 - 2000 by Dept. of evaluation and Applied Research, P.63.
3 Tamil Nadu - An economic appraisal - 1999 - 2000 by Dept. of evaluation and Applied Research, P.64-65.
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8

Human Development in Karnataka - Status, Challenges and Prescriptions

DR. D. JEEVAN KUMAR

Long years ago, we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new ...

The achievement we celebrate today is but a step ... to the greater triumphs and achievements that await us. Are we brave enough and wise enough to grasp this opportunity and accept the challenges of the future?

That future is not one of ease or resting but of incessant striving so that we may fulfil the pledges we have so often taken and the one we shall take today. The service of India means the service of the millions who suffer. It means the ending of poverty and ignorance and disease and inequality of opportunity ... We have to build the noble mansion of free India where all her children may dwell.

The future beckons to us. Whither do we go and what shall be our endeavour? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to the peasants and workers of India; to fight and end poverty and ignorance and disease; to build up a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, and to create social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman. (Jawaharlal Nehru, *Tryst with Destiny*, Address to the Constituent Assembly, New Delhi August 14th and 15th, 1947).

Development of the Concept of Human Development

Till the 1960s, the principal objective of a government was considered to be *economic growth*, and the most appropriate yardstick to measure human well-being was *per capita income.* However, the experience of industrial economics in the post-war period revealed that the benefits of economic growth may not reach all segments of a country's population. The persistence of poverty even when incomes were rising was proof that the benefits of growth do not reach the poor, without active state intervention. As a result, there was a visible shift in the focus of development planning in the 1970s and 1980s.

Socio-economic development replaced economic growth as the focus of attention, and fresh emphasis was placed on the concepts of income distribution and equity. New measures of welfare and development were tried out and discarded - the Level of Living Index, the State of Welfare Index, the Quality of Life Index, and the Physical Quality of Life Index. The Human Development Index of the United Nations Development Programme, first propounded in 1990, is the culmination of this line of development thought. It is now accepted as the best available tool to gauge the welfare of nations.

The last decade of the twentieth century has seen a clear shift in the focus of development planning, from a mere expansion of production of goods and services and growth in per capita income, to planning for enhancement of human well-being. The notion of human well-being, itself, is more broadly conceived to include not only consumption of goods and services, but also the accessibility of all sections of the population, especially the deprived and those who are living below the normative minimal poverty line, to the basic necessities of a productive and socially meaningful life. Such a conceptualisation of well-being encompasses individual attainments in areas of education and knowledge; health and longevity; as well as in the quality of overall social and physical environment of people. A specific focus on these aspects of development is necessary, as experience shows that economic prosperity, measured in terms of per capita income, does not always ensure enrichment in quality of life reflected in broader dimensions of well-being, like in indicators on longevity, literacy or environmental sustainability. Attainments in these dimensions of well-being are desirable in themselves, hence they are socially valued. They are also desirable because of their instrumental value in sustaining the development process and enlarging available opportunities and choices for people. While equality in development outcomes may not be a feasible goal of equity and social justice, such an

approach to human well-being emphasizes equality in opportunities for all in the process of development.

Since 1990, the United Nations Development Programme,through its global Human Development Reports (HDRs), has been in the forefront of an effort to generate, in the contemporary development discourse, a policy focus on the broader attributes of human well-being. It has defined Human Development as a process of enlarging people's choices, as well as raising the level of well-being. In principle, these choices can be infinite and vary over time and space. From among these, the HDRs identify:

- the choice to lead a long and healthy life;
- the choice to acquire knowledge and be educated; and
- to have access to resources needed for a decent level of living -

as the three most critical and social valuable. These choices in the well-being of people are reflected in a range of social outcomes, from among which the Reports have focused on indicators on longevity, literacy and per capita income. *Longevity* and *literacy* are valued ends in themselves. They capture, in some sense, a quantitative, as well as a qualitative aspect, of an individual's well-being. The inclusion of *per capita income* has been explained as a *catch-all variable*, to incorporate aspects of well-being not captured by indicators reflecting a society's attainments on education, health and longevity of its people.

The success of the UNDP's effort lies in its insistence on people as the real wealth of a country. Time and again, Human Development reports have stressed that development is not only growth in income, wealth or consumption, but the expansion of human capabilities. To use the UNDP's well-known phrase, Human Development is about "enlarging people's choices", choices which are varied and changing over time. Once the three basic human concerns - a long and healthy life; access to knowledge and skills; and control over resources to ensure a decent standard of living - are assured, other opportunities for growth and happiness will follow.

Since 1990, the UNDP has refined and improved the concept of Human Development. The first Human Development Report of 1990 conceptualized the idea, and considered how it could be measured. It explored the relationship between economic growth and human development. It demonstrated that there was no automatic link between economic growth and human welfare; that fairly respectable levels of human development were possible at modest levels of income; and that high GDP growth in several countries had failed to raise

the general well-being of their population. It emphasized the need for sustainable development and laid stress on popular participation and non-governmental agencies. It argued that public policies based on the above ideas could reduce poverty levels and increase human well-being.

The HDR of 1991 focussed on the political commitment needed to channel resources for human development. In 1992, the stress was on enhancing opportunities for development through trade, so that growth levels, once attained, are stabilized. The Report took the stand that trade should eventually replace aid as the most appropriate technique for developed countries to follow. The central theme of the 1993 Report was people's participation. The 1994 HDR argued in favour of better North-South cooperation and urged the North to invest in the South to promote human development. This Report introduced the concept of human security.

The HDR of 1995 spoke of the need for the empowerment of women through national and global strategies. It made the vital point that productivity, equity, sustainability and empowerment demand that gender issues be addressed as developmental issues and human rights concerns. The central theme of the report was that development would be endangered, if it is not engendered. A valuable innovative contribution of this report is the Gender-Related Development Index, which measures the distance in development between males and females within the overall HDI. The Gender Empowerment Measure which was also evolved in this report enlarged the idea of Human Development further by estimating the degree to which women have control over, and participate in decisions affecting, their future well-being.

In 1996, the Report chose as its theme, the intricate causalities between economic growth and Human Development. The central message was that links between the two must be consciously forged so that they can reinforce each other. The report also attempted to measure the deprivation of those who have no access to the basic requirements of a civilized existence. It developed a Capability Poverty Measure built on the three variables of the percentage of births unattended by trained personnel: the share of underweight children below the age of five; and female literacy.

The 1997 Report went into the concept and measurement of poverty in greater depth. It offered ideas for eradicating absolute poverty and advocated State intervention to protect the interests of the poor. It further refined the Capability Poverty Measure and introduced the idea of a Human Poverty Index (HPI). The HPI puts together the percentage of the population that is unlikely to live beyond 40 years, the percentage of illiterate adults and the combined

percentage of the population that does not have access to potable water, health care, and of mal-nourished children below the age of five. The 1998 Report is built around the theme of consumption - inequalities of consumption, environmental damage due to undesirable methods of consumption, the dangers of conspicuous consumption, and the effects of globalization on consumption patterns. The Human Development Report, 2000, subtitled Human Rights and Human Development demonstrated the ways in which human rights enrich human development goals. Analyzing how human rights, must be respected, protected and fulfilled in the development process, the Report addressed the accountability of governments in fulfilling their duties.

The critical theme of the Human Development Report, 2001 was on Making New Technologies Work for Human Development. It addressed the opportunities and challenges for development through the technology revolution. The HDR, 2002 was devoted to Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World. According to the Report, deepening democracy could make governance truly responsive and accountable to the demands of ordinary people. And the Human Development Report, 2003 examined the progress made towards reaching the Millennium Development Goals - the targets set for reductions in poverty, improvements in health and education, and protection of the environment around the world by the year 2015 - on a country-by-country basis.

Karnataka's Human Development Report, 1999

Karnataka became the second Indian State to release a Human Development Report (June 1999), following the example set by Madhya Pradesh. The document makes a thorough analysis of socio-economic development in Karnataka, up to the district level. The analysis helped to place Karnataka within the national developmental grid; it has also helped in making international comparisons. This was possible by adopting a HDI computation methodology that was closely aligned to the UNDP method. Karnataka has used adjusted per capita income as an indicator to measure the standard of living. For assessing educational attainment, the two variables used by UNDP - adult literacy and enrolment of children - have been adopted with the same two-thirds/one-third weightage, but enrolment ratios have been restricted to those in primary and secondary schools, since data on tertiary enrolment was not readily available. Health status has been measured using life expectancy at birth, although most other States have chosen to use the Infant Mortality rate.

Where do we stand?

Table 1

Table 1 depicts the status of the major States in India, in terms of their HDI ranking, and the position of Karnataka. As can be noted, Karnataka stands *seventh* among the major States in India.

- Andhra Pradesh : 0.400(9)
- Assam : 0.379 (10)
- Bihar : 0.354 (13)
- Gujarat : 0.467 (5)
- Haryana : 0.489 (4)
- Karnataka : 0.448 (7)
- Kerala : 0.603 (1)
- Madhya Pradesh : 0.349 (14)
- Maharashtra: 0.523 (3)
- Orissa : 0.373 (11)
- Punjab : 0.529 (2)
- Rajasthan : 0.356 (12)
- Tamil Nadu : 0.438 (8)
- Uttar Pradesh : 0.348 (15)
- West Bengal : 0.459 (6)
- INDIA : 0.423

Table 2

Key Indicators

- Sex ratio – 960 (1991)
- Infant mortality rate – 51 (1998)
- Maternal mortality rate – 450 (1995)
- Life expectancy at birth – 62.5 (91-95)
- Literacy rate – 56% (19912 census)
- Per capita income – Rs. 2551 (80-81 prices)
- % children in age group 6-14 attending schools – 65.3 (rural); 82.4 (urban) (1995)

Table 2 depicts the Key Indicators of Human Development in Karnataka, *vis-à-vis* seven yardsticks, namely, sex ratio, infant mortality rate, maternal mortality rate, life expectancy at abirth, literacy rate, per capita income and percentage of children attending school. The years, on the basis of which calculations have been made, are shown in parentheses.

Table 3

The Major sectors

- Health
- Education
- Income, Employment and Poverty
- Housing and sanitation
- Drinking water

Table 3 shows the five major sectors of Human Development that have been analyzed in the Human Development Report of Karnataka.

Table 4

Social Sector Allocations

- Karnataka's Public Expenditure ratio (PER) is 19% (PER is revenue expenditure as % of SDP);
- Of this, Social Allocation Ratio (SAR) is 39%. [SAR is revenue expenditure on social services as % of total revenue expenditure];
- Kerala and West Bengal are the only major states where SAR has been over 40%.
- Health : 5% of the state budget and 1% of GDP.
- Education : 16% of state budget and 3% of GDP.
- Share of social sectors in plan outlays woefully small.

Table 4 shows the Social Allocation Ratio (SAR) in the Public Expenditure Ratio (PER), and how much this works out to, in terms of percentage of the State budget and GDP, in the sectors of Health and Education.

Table 5

Imbalance in expenditure
➢ Resource allocations to districts governed by recommendations of State Finance Commission.
➢ 36% of non-loan gross own revenue receipts are transferred to rural and local bodies in the ratio of 85:15. this puts a cap on the resource flow in a year when tax collections are poor as in the current year resource transfers are much less than budgeted.
➢ Non-plan expenditure is committed expenditure; districts which for historical reasons have better infrastructure and have higher ranks in human development have a greater share in non-plan outlays, which get protected during budget formulation.
➢ Allocations to districts are on a predominantly per capita approach. The relative needs of districts will have to become the starting point for rational and objective decisions on funds allocation.
➢ Better off districts must accept the economic interdependence of regions; faster growth in Raichur will have beneficial spin off effects on Dakshina Kannada and Raichur too.

The above Table shows how imbalance in expenditure is caused by:

1) Grants to local bodies being dependent on their tax collections: and
2) Allocations to districts being on a predominantly per-capita basis.

Table 6

Access – Health
➢ Number of PHLs per lakh populations is 4.64 against norm of 3.33:
➢ Government medical institutions per lakh population is 5.13; total no:2624;
➢ Number of beds per lakh population is 86:
➢ Growth rate of institutions since 1960 is over 3%.
➢ However, uneven growth across districts-northern districts relative poorly served.

The above Table depicts the position as regards access to Health in the State.

Table 7

Quality of Services – Health
➢ Only 38% of live births take place in institutions; ➢ Measles immunization coverage less than 50%; ➢ Nearly 60% of children with diarrhea are given ORS; ➢ 54% of children under four are underweight; ➢ Bed occupancy in PHCs is as low as 11.9% lack of proper integration of PHCs with higher level facilities; ➢ Many patients go directly to secondary and tertiary level facilities; ➢ Large vacancies aggravated by cumbersome recruitment procedures; ➢ Unauthorised absence and indiscipline in work force symptomatic of deeper malaise of dissatisfaction with postings and areas of work; ➢ Human resource development neglected; ➢ In the private sector lack of effective regulation of unlicensed and unregistered practitioners who cheat the public; ➢ In family welfare virtual absence of male participation; ➢ Limited access to poor, women and SC/ST.

The above Table is a reflection of the poor quality of health services in the State.

Table 8

Access-Education
➢ The number of primary schools has gone up from 25800 in 1960 to over 46900. Norms require setting up of a school for every habitation with a population >200. ➢ Over 96% of children have a primary school within one kilometer and over 85% have an upper primary school within three kilometres. ➢ Enrolment in primary schools exceeds 8.2 million. ➢ Drop-out rates have declined from 69% in 1950 to 16.5%. In respect of girls the decline has been from 73% to 17%. ➢ Overall gross enrolment ratio for classes I to VII has gone up from 66 in 1980 to 92. ➢ Girls participation has moved up from 44.5 in 1980 to 48 in respect of classes I to IV and from 39 to 45 in respect of classes I to VII. ➢ And yet...2.6 million children comprising 28% of children in 6-14 age group are out of school.

The above Table depicts the position as regards access to Education, in the State.

Table 9

Quality of Services – Literacy & Primary Education
➢ Literacy programmes not sustained despite good work in the early years; Rural female literacy in Raichur is a dismal 16.48%.
➢ Uneven quality of services in primary schools - teacher-pupil ratios vary across districts;
➢ 2.6 million children out of school engaged in work
➢ Majority of children do not achieve the prescribed achievement levels - multi-grade teaching is the norm and teachers are not equipped to deal with such situations;
➢ However, DPEP interventions have shown that remarkable results are possible in a short time with appropriate strategies;
➢ Lack of community participation - setting up of Gram Panchayats by themselves not enough;
➢ Many primary schools lack adequate classrooms.

The above Table reflects the quality of services in Literacy Programmes in Primary Education, in the State.

Table 10

Quality of Services – Secondary & Higher Education
➢ In high schools only 49% have toilets, 37% have laboratories and 15% have libraries;
➢ Only 389 out of nearly 2000 pre-university institutions offer a science combination;
➢ Only 60 out of 148 government first grade colleges have their own buildings;
➢ Expenditure on libraries only 1.4% as against 15% of the budget spent on conducting examinations;
➢ Salaries take away another 67% leaving very little for infrastructure, training etc.

The above Table reflects the quality of services in Secondary and Higher Education in the State.

Table 11

Access – Income Growth in incomes is inextricably related to: ➢ Earning capacity, which is linked to educational and health status. ➢ Earning opportunities, which are linked to the growth patterns, nature of employment, productivity and access to credit. ➢ State income (NSDP) has increased from Rs.2977 crore to Rs.13047 crore, > 4-fold increase (1980-81 prices). The fastest increase has been in the tertiary sector - share has increased from 25% to 43%. ➢ P/c income has only doubled in real terms from Rs.1273 to Rs.2668. ➢ Work force has increased from 15 million to 19 million - i.e @ 2.6% Female work force has increased at a higher rate of 4%. ➢ Share of females in main workers increased from 25 to 29%. ➢ 33% of the work force in secondary and tertiary sectors contributed 65% of the state income. However, 85% of work force continues to be in the primary sector.

The above Table depicts the figures regarding those with access to income in the State.

Table 12

Quality of Services – Income, Employment and Poverty Alleviation ➢ Employment generation programes have had limited impact no significant shift in work force away from the primary sector and only marginal increase in labour productivity in spite of 40% of Plan allocations on agriculture and irrigation; ➢ Lack of an integrated approach and limitations of organizational and delivery systems; ➢ Corruption and lack of transparency in implementation of schemes has had adverse impact; ➢ Poverty alleviation requires a multi-dimensional approach; ➢ Programmes must be designed by involving civil society and poor people themselves; ➢ In spite of large regional variations in poverty levels - from 55% in Bidar to 16% in Dakshina Kannada - employment and poverty alleviation programmes have adopted a per capita, rather than a "needs-based" approach.

The above Table reflects the quality of services in the State, as regards Income, Employment and Poverty Alleviation.

Table 13

Access – Housing
➢ The housing stock has almost doubled from 4.2 million to 7.9 million between 1961 to 1991.
➢ Housing stock has increased @ 30% in the last decade, with the annual growth rate being 3%.
➢ Housing shortage is 9.8% (0.3 million); does not include 8% kacha houses.
➢ Only 34% of households have access to toilets - in rural areas the position is dismal with only 6.85% having toilets - in urban areas the percentage is around 62.5%.

The above Table depicts the status of the Housing sector in Karnataka, in terms of access.

Table 14

Quality of Services – Housing and Sanitation
➢ Though there has been impressive growth in the number of dwellig units, quality of housing remains a matter of concern;
➢ In most districts, 70% of houses has one (or at best two) room;
➢ Only 30.5% houses in rural areas are made of 'pucca' materials – 20% are 'kucha;
➢ Houses constructed under government prorammes do not involve beneficiaries and result in poor quality construction by contactors;
➢ Only 41% of rural houses have electricity and only 7% have toilets; even when toilets are constructed dearth of water results in the toilet falling into disuse;
➢ In urban areas, the slum population, estimated at over 15% live without basic amenities – inadequate access to water and virtually no sanitation. Urban housing projects, both in public and private sectors do not cater to the urban poor, the so-called LIG housing can be accessed only by the lower middle class;
➢ Majority of population in Karnataka defecates in open public places.

The above Table reflects the quality of Housing and Sanitation services in Karnataka.

Table 15

Access – Drinking Water
➢ 67% of rural population have access to safe drinking water of over 40 lpcd; 30% have access between 10-40 lpcd; 3% have no access or access less than 10 lpcd;
➢ 93% of the 205 urban towns have water supply less than prescribed norms -i.e, 135 lpcd for towns with population in excess of 1 lakh, 100 lpcd for towns between 20,000 and 1 lakh; and 70 lpcd for towns less than 20,000.

The above Table depicts statistically the position regarding drinking water and its accessibility in the State.

Table 16

Quality of Services – Water Supply
➢ 1/3 of the population does not have access to potable drinking water even unto the minimum 40 lpcd;
➢ 1300 habitations do not have public sources of water supply;
➢ In 4500 habitations groundwater is not potable as it contains high levels of chemicals like fluoride and iron;
➢ As 97%, of water supply schemes depend on ground water supply, progressive decline in the water table raises questions of sustainability;
➢ Another aspect of sustainability is the management of facilities, local communities have not been enabled to manage O&M, energy charges remain unpaid for months together;
➢ In urban areas the challenge is even greater - ground water has become contaminated – alternative sources of surface water require heavy investment – existing distribution systems require major rehabilitation with almost 40-50% being the distribution losses – revenue recovery is negligible and does not even pay for routine O&M.

The above Table reflects the quality of services as regards Water Supply in the State.

Table 17

Institutional Framework – Basic Propositions
➢ Bureaucratic structures are less flexible and responsive compared to structures which allow for public participation; government structures require to be brought closer to the people;
➢ Grassroots organizations have to be promoted and encouraged – both within government through local bodies and outside through NGOs;
➢ Increasingly public accountability is getting reduced and non-performers hardly ever brought to book; lack of transparency characterises implementation of most government schemes;
➢ Panchayati Raj has brought in improvements but the decentralized system has yet to fully mature and become accountable – several instances of local vested interests and caste considerations undermine the positive impact;
➢ Government must approach NGOs with trust and confidence recognizing that, while they may not provide replicable models of development (on account of the limited scale in which they operate), they do provide very rewarding learning experiences.
➢ Self-help groups provide another route to promote grassroots participation and empowerment, especially among women.

The above Table shows the six basic propositions as regards the Institutional Framework for Human Development in Karnataka.

Challenges for Achieving Sustainable Human Development in Karnataka

In each of the five areas of Health, Education, Income, Employment and Poverty, Housing and Sanitation, and Drinking Water, there are enormous challenges before the State, in order to realize the goals of sustainable Human Development. These have been presented in a tabular fashion in this section.

Table 18

The Future Beckons – Health ➢ Total immunization coverage needs to be focuses on – measles coverage needs special attention; ➢ Health education needs to be taken up in a campaign mode to combat killer diseases like diarrhoea, and AIDs; ➢ Better nutrition and health indicators for women can radically improve the health indices for the state; ➢ Health sector reform needs to focus on ensuring a proper integration and linkages at the three levels; ➢ Uneven development of health infrastructure compounded by a poor delivery system is a major reason for the poor health indicators in the Northern districts; a serious problem is to ensure staff go to less developed areas – perhaps a judicious combination of incentives and deterrents are required.

The above Table identifies the major challenges before the Health sector in Karnataka.

Table 19

The Future Beckons – Education ➢ Much greater attention is required to increase girl participation rates specially in the Northern districts; ➢ Universalisation of elementary education will require a multi-pronged strategy to reach the 2.6 million out-of-school children; ➢ Major reform in the education sector will have to focus on making the system child-centred – supervisory mechanisms and "Inspector Raj" culture will have to be dismantled to make way for a system which is child and community friendly; ➢ Hard decisions to re-deploy teachers where they are needed will need to be combined with teachers' training programmes to make them facilitators and enable them to operate in a multi-grade situation; ➢ Every family must be enabled to demand education as a matter of right; ➢ At the same time the tempo of literary campaigns and post-literacy programmes needs to be stepped up to reach those who have missed out on schooling.

The above Table identifies the major challenges before the Education sector in Karnataka.

Table 20

The Future Beckons – Income and Employment
➢ The general level of stagnation in the manufacturing sector has to be addressed by improving infrastructure and entrepreneurship;
➢ The concentration of women in poorly paid jobs, as both main and marginal workers, requires to be rectified.
➢ Productivity gains in the primary sector are a pre-condition to improving income levels in the rural areas;
➢ While poverty levels have come down, the alarmingly high levels of urban poverty has received marginal attention and requires to be immediately tackled.

The above Table identifies the major challenges before the State, in the generation of Income and Employment.

Table 21

The Future Beckons – Housing, Sanitation and Drinking Water
➢ Large investment are required in the next decade to meet the unmet housing needs in both urban and rural areas;
➢ Sanitation, specially in urban slums needs special focus;
➢ Rural water supply schemes can be sustainable in the long run only through community ownership;
➢ Urban water supply and sanitation systems can become viable only through realistic and rational fixation of tariff;
➢ Government strategy requires to consciously promote awareness on the linkages across water, sanitation and health.

The above Table identifies the major challenges faced by the State, in providing better Housing, Sanitation and Drinking Water.

Table 22

In Conclusion
➢ If a perceptible dent is to be made in Karnataka's social and economic indices, improvement in the status of women must become central to all policy making.
➢ The issue of gender cuts across sectors: This implies focus on girl's education, women's health, housing schemes designed with the involvement of women, and income and employment strategies to improve the earning capacity of women workers;
➢ The close interdependence of all the social sectors requires to be recognized – hence need to promote convergence at the village and Gram Panchayat levels.
➢ Resource allocation must be need-based.
➢ Eventually people, not governments, must seize the initiative for development.

Five very perceptive concluding observations have been made in the Human Development Report of Karnataka. These are shown in the above Table.

Governance for Human Development

According to the National Human Development Report (India), 2001, governance for human development relates to the management of all such processes that, in any society, define the environment which permits and enables individuals to raise their capability levels, on one hand, and provide opportunities to realize their potential and enlarge the set of available choices, on the other. These processes, covering the political, social and economic aspects of life, impact every level of human enterprise, be it the individual, the household, the village, the region or even the nation as a whole. It covers the state, the civil society and the market, each of which is critical for sustaining human development. The state is responsible for creating a conducive political, legal and economic environment for building individual capabilities and encouraging private intitiative. The market is expected to create opportunities for people. The civil society facilitates the mobilization of public opinion and people's participation in economic, social and political activities for sustaining an efficient and productive social order.

In order that these processes lead toward the desired social ends, governance requires the exercise of legitimate political power, by the designated bodies, in a manner that is perceived as equitable, socially sensitive,

participatory and above all, accountable to the people at large. While these are generic, universally relevant and accepted features of good governance, there are always aspects of governance that are contextually driven geared to address the local concerns and reflect the aspirations of the people. In some sense, then, the process of governance is perhaps, unique to every society.

As the National Human Development Report, 2001, emphasizes, the issue of improving governance in the country has to be addressed at multiple levels. The relevance and the operations of institutions concerning the social, economic and political processes towards the goals of human development will have to be re-examined, particularly in the context of globalization and the universalization of neo-liberalism. This calls for a conceptual repositioning of the State. It can neither be a completely minimalist role, nor an entirely proactive one. It has to be a judicious blend of the two.

This paper began with a reference to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's address to the Constituent Assembly of India in his *Tryst with Destiny*. It would be pertinent to end the paper by recollecting his words once again:

The future beckons to us. Whither do we go and what shall be our endeavour?...

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9

The State and the Declining Public Education System in Kerala

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The greatest theme in politics is the relationship between the state and the individual. As Aristotle said, "the state originated out of the bare needs of man and continues to exist for the welfare of man." Along with the evolution in the nature of the state this relationship has also undergone much change. In fact the ideal of welfare state marked an advancement in human civilisation. It upheld the promotion of the welfare of all the individuals. The poor and the downtrodden were never allowed to die unattended. Human rights, women's rights and children's rights are all concepts which developed from this concern for all sections. In short, the social welfare state looked after the individual from the cradle to the grave.

Globalization and Its Impact

However, the concept of the welfare state received a severe shock with the onset of globalization . It was in the 1990's that a new set of ideas were put forth which were together called as globalization. Globalization signified international movement of people, goods and services as never before in world's history. This has brought about more unity among the people of the world. Earlier men who were living in the same planet did not know each other. The Asians never knew anything about the Europeans or the Americans. The Africans did not know the Europeans either. But now the world has become a very small unit and it is referred to as the 'global village'.

The advocates of the new phenomenon of globalization say this is not anything new; the process has been going on for several centuries now. It all

started with the birth of the modern period of world history viz 1500 AD and was inaugurated by the geographical discoveries.

However the spread of globalization as an ideology has been posing problems. In the economic field it has brought about liberalisation and privatisation. Reaganism and Thatcherism have promoted capitalism. The concept of society itself has been challenged by them and they promoted unfettered competition. The developing countries are forced to open up their societies. The protagonists of globalization and liberalisation want to promote free trade and open markets. But this has announced the decline and eclipse of the social welfare state and the destruction of local cultures.

The point is that the state has been withdrawing from all service sectors including education. In 1991 the then Prime Minister of India announced that the state was not a Dharmasala. The state could not go on to give subsidies and free meals. Dr. Manmohan Singh who was the Finance Minister presented a pro liberalisation budget in the Loksabha. As a result the common man in India spends sleepless nights thinking about the problems posed by the WTO and the Patents Agreement. The government is forced to regulate the sale of fastfood and soft drinks.

But the fact is that India is the land of Dharma. The great rulers of India like Akbar and Ashoka have upheld people's interests and social harmony above everything else. The modern constitution of India also upholds the ideal of welfarism and Dharma. The Gandhian ideals and liberal intellectual ideas have influenced the framers of our constitution to incorporate Directive Principles of State Policy with a aim to create a social welfare state. When India became free in 1947 Jawaharlal Nehru had promised to the teeming millions of India that poverty and unemployment will be wiped out and education will be made available to all.

In South India it must be said, that the Sangam period upheld education and cultural achievements. The Aryan and Dravidian coming together led to the notable achievements in these fields. The teacher was given all respect and the educated persons were held in high esteem. Later the coming of Europeans once again stimulated the pursuit of knowledge in South India.

Education develops the innate qualities of a man and helps them to get a job. In a developing society like ours education helps the forward mobility of a person. It is an important instrument of liberation and it helps personal and social progress. Therefore all states attach much importance to the concept of education. The education system in India has been a predominantly a state funded and direct activity. While school education has a broad base higher

education has a narrowbase as it covers only 5 per cent of the relevant age group population. People like Nehru and our planning experts have emphasised the need to spend more money on education. This trend of increasing the investment in education continued till the 1970's. The 1980's was a period of financial crisis for all countries and therefore the expenditure on education began coming down. The Swaminathan committee and the Punnayya Committee both appealed to the government to find out modern means by which more resources could be mobilised apart from government spending. Both the committees also pinpointed the need to improve efficiency in the functioning of educational institutions.

This resulted in external borrowing also. Whenever the country borrowed money it demanded structural readjustment and redefinition of the role of the state. The result was low spending on education as in other social sectors. The state resorted to encouraging methods like open learning, private sector colleges etc. Through this the state could do away with recurring expenditure like the salary of teachers. The state could not cope with the increasing demand for higher education. At the same time it was intended to shift the incidence of financial burden to the beneficiaries (students) or to their users (employers). Nearly 7.8 per cent of the total plan funds were allocated to education in the first five year plan, but it came down to 2.7 per cent during the sixth five year plan though it increased to 4.5 per cent during the eighth five year plan.

Cost recovery measures implies a reduction in subsidies in higher education students are encouraged to take loans from banks. But this has led to two types of distortions. Firstly, only professional courses got encouragement and professional students were selected for loans by the banks. Secondly, since the educational credit market was not well developed in our country banks looked for surety and guarantee which the poor students could not find. Naturally students from well to do families get the benefit of loans. Cost recovery measures also included increasing the fees which again adversely affected the students from poor families.

State Minimalism

Globalization means state minimalism and market maximalism. This indicates a blow to the concept of welfare state as the state was the only hope of the common man and backward classes for forward mobility. The market has come to dominate the field of higher education. The education field has been restructured to suit the needs of the job market and the knowledge economy. Here we find a five fold shift such as from

a) Social sciences to professional courses
b) Knowledge to skill
c) Process (learning) to product (the student)
d) Equity to excellence
e) Social relevance to Market relevance.

The universities are faced with the question either to globalize or to perish and they try to become polytechniques. Just as doctors are becoming technicians, teachers are becoming trainers in skills. It is the standard of living which determines the standard of education. In the new atmosphere education has become a commodity which can be bought and sold and therefore higher education needs no subsidy it seems. The growth of market forces in higher education leads to the emergence of monopolies. Knowledge production is very costly now as it requires well equipped laboratories, computers and costly books. Researches are conducted by large corporations which possess enormous wealth. The state is thus forced to withdraw as it does not possess enough resources to help all those who pursue higher education.

Kerala and Its Education System

The state of Kerala has always stood in the forefront of education. We had an ancient university in Thrikkanamathilakathu which was under the control of Elanko Adikal who was the son of Imayavarman Nedumcharalathan who ruled from Thiruvanchikulam, as records say. In olden days there were many vidyapeedams called as "Shalas' and they were Moozhikalam sala, Thiruvakasala, Kanthalloor Sala, Parthivapuram Sala and Sree Vallabha Perumchala. There were also Kudippallikudangal under the supervision of Asans.

However modern English education was inaugurated in Kerala with the establishment of an English school in 1806 by a protestant missionary called Rev. William Trobis. In 1816 the Church Mission Society established the CMS college at Kottayam. In 1817 Rani Gowri Parvathibhai declared the establishment of vernacular schools and it marked the entry of state into the field of education. In 1890 a separate department for education was started and the Asans were replaced by qualified teachers.

In 1903 primary education was made free and in 1911 a training college was established in Thiruvananthapuram. In 1866 HH the Raja's school was established and it later became the University College in 1942. The Holy

Angels Convent established in 1880 was the first girls school in South India. In 1897 H.H. Maharajas College for Girls was established. Miss. S. B. Williams was its principal. In 1923 this college was shifted to Thycad and came to be called as Maharajas College for Women. In 1921 Union Christian College at Alwaye and in 1922 S.B. College was started in Changanassery.

In Cochin the first English school was started in 1845. In 1875 it was converted into the Ernakulam college. In 1925, in the year of its golden Jubilee it was renamed as Maharaja's College by the government.

In 1866 the 'rate school' (contributions from public) was started at Palghat and it later became the Victoria College in the year 1888. The Tellicherry Brennan School was started in1862. It later became the Brennan College in 1899. In 1919 the Malabar Christian College was established. After independence it was in 1957 that the 'Kerala Education Rules' was formulated. With this the age for admission to the first standard was fixed at five and a half.

Now in Kerala there are 7 universities. They are the universities of Kerala, Calicut, Cochin, Mahatma Gandhi, Kannur, Sri Sankara and the Agricultural University. The first university was the Kerala University which was formerly called as Travancore University and it had come into existence in 1937. Of the colleges Trivandrum Women's College, University college, Maharajas College, Victoria College and Brennan College, had been declared as 'Centres of Excellence'.

Of late the pre–degree course has been delinked from the University stream and it has since remained a part of school education. Apart from the government and the government aided colleges, now in Kerala there is also the self financing stream. There are arts, science and management colleges, and medical and engineering colleges under this scheme. The fee structure for these courses are yet to be coordinated by the Kerala government. The aim of starting the self financing colleges was to increase opportunities for deserving students to pursue medical, engineering and business studies. The withdrawal of the state from the field of higher education has provided an opportunity for private entrepreneurs. This has led to commercialisation of education it is alleged. In the allocation of plus two schools and B.Ed. colleges in the state corruption charges were levelled against the concerned education ministers.

The decline of the welfare state and the consequent reduced expenditure in the fields of education, health and agriculture has been common feature of the central and state budgets. For example, the University Grants Commission

which coordinates higher education all over the country has asked universities in all states to adopt new methods for resource mobilisation. Even our courts have upheld the rights of private managements to collect capitation fees. In this context Kerala which had accorded much importance to elementary and higher education has shifted its priorities as inevident from the Kerala budget for 2004–05.

The Kerala Education Bill of 1957 introduced by the EMS ministry had accorded great priority to the claims of teachers and students alike and to the cause of education in general. Similarly, the agitations by the different student organisations had helped maintain student concessions in schools, colleges and buses. Even parallel college students had been receiving travel concessions. Again, Kerala was the state which had given representation to students in the University Senate and Syndicate which are important decision making bodies. Moreover the noonmeal schemes had encouraged the enrolment of students in primary schools. The Kumarapillai Commission appointed by the Kerala Government had recommended scholarships to the financially weak but meritorious students. It is this benevolent attitude of the state which has undergone a radical shift now.

The state of Kerala has been alternately ruled by the left Democratic Front (LDF) led by the CPM and the United Democratic Front (UDF) led by the congress since the 1980's. Both of them have contributed to the impoverishment of the State. The state has been caught in the debt trap and the present government has gone for the Asian Development Bank loan. Now the total debt of the State is 35989 crores.

The previous LDF government had squandered money for the implementation of the developmental programmes planned under the "Peoples Planning." However many of these programmes were not profit making. About 5000 crores of rupees were spent out of the state exchequer in this regard without proper accounts. The present UDF government led by A.K. Antony could inherit only empty offers from the LDF governments.

The argument of the politicians now is that investments in education is not remunerative. There is too much of politics in education and too little of education in politics, it seems.

Negative Effects of State Withdrawal

1. The field of education has been commercialised as a result of state withdrawal. The government has allowed private agencies to freely operate in the field of education, especially professional education.

Many of the private agencies register as charity organisations so that they can escape the tax net. This system has also resulted in the clever investment of illicit money.

2. Equity considerations have been lost. Earlier equity principle was maintained through reservation, subsidies and scholarships. But now the lopsided distribution of money by the government has upset the equity principle. State money has been diverted to the so called centres of excellence.

3. There is no regular appointment in the colleges and higher secondary schools. These are the places where the students from ordinary families go, especially those of the first generation learners and from disadvantaged societies. It is said that there are over 6000 guest lecturers in Kerala colleges. There are 500 vacancies in government colleges.
4. The decline in the public education system has left space for self financing colleges to operate. These institutions have been encouraging commercialisation. The World Bank prescription of higher education as a 'non merit good' has resulted in the decline of the quality of higher education.

5. The new educational infrastructure which is being brought into being in Kerala has completely left out the Dalits, Adivasis and the backward communities. It is pointed out that the substitute for an inefficient public sector is not private sector.

Conclusion

All these have social implications. This type of change in the nature of the education process will leave out the common man and the poor. Education in this context will not lead to social emancipation; it will only lead to enslavement of the weak. Hence there is a need to bring back the state to a central position. The state is the deliverer of the poor and the needy. The state alone can provide a long term perspective and focus on social concerns in promoting higher education. Thus there is a need to strengthen the state. Since the base of elementary education is increasing the demand for higher education is also likely to increase. Therefore what the government shall do is not to indiscriminately reduce subsidies, but shall direct the subsidies towards the poor. Otherwise the field of higher education will be left to the vagaries of the market forces.

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Welfare Component of Education in Andhra Pradesh

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Twentieth century was a century of sibling paradigms, with the academic discourse and practice focusing on welfare state, colonialism, liberalization, communism, capitalism, liberalization privatization and globalisation. Welfare state represented the response to the theory aimed at bringing about well being and happiness among the less previleged and deprived sections through compensatory policies and other methods of state intervention. Can as cooperative endeavour, the welfare polices were perhaps aimed at minimizing the conflict potential of the lower strata of society? In countries of western Europe and North America, the welfare polices consisted mainly of social services such as social security, old age pensions, health care through insurance cover, benefits for jobless, food subsidies, services to the disable and assistance for education. Support for education of the wards of the poor people has been a top priority item on the welfare agenda in India. Mahatma Gandhi and Dr.Ambedkar attached a great deal of significance to this item as they felt that the educational backwardness of persons from the deprived strata of society has been a major obstacle to their advancement or for attempts to promote socio-economic equality in India. Drawing from both liberal democratic and Gandhian traditions, the Indian Constitution has incorporated a number of provisions in favour of compensatory policies for the weaker sections of Indian society. Within Andhra Pradesh support for the education of Scheduled Castes (SCs) . Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Backward Classes (BCs) has been part of the political discourse as well as state welfare policy. In what follows, an attempt is made to review the policies aimed at the

promotion of education among the weaker sections and the manner in which these policies are administered besides an analysis of the problems and issues. The review is also aimed at examining the contention advanced by some theorist that the state has been withdrawing.

The Scheduled Castes (SCs) constitute about 15.93 % and the Scheduled Tribes (STs) about 6.30 % of the State's population. Though these are no precise estimates, the Backward Classes (BCs) are estimated around 40% of the State's population. The State Government's perspective plan presented in the **VISION 2020** document provides a central place for the welfare of the weaker sections and achieving 100 per cent literacy within a short span of time. The document notes that only when socio-economic justice for the deprived and weaker sections of the society is ensured, development of the State is possible. The resolve of the State Government is also reflected in enhanced allocation for social welfare programmes and for educational support programmes in particular. [1]

SCHEDULED CASTES WELFARE PROGRAMMES:

The Social Welfare Department which caters to Scheduled Castes (SCs) maintaining 2313 hostels and institutions for SCs with a student strength of 2.56 lakhs at an estimated expenditure of Rs.181 crores (2003 –04) . About 55% of the hostels have their own buildings.

The coverage of support through pre-matric and post-matric scholarships to SC students is almost universal. It is provided to students enrolled in hostels as well as day-scholars, pursuing education in all categories of schools and colleges (Government aided and unaided) . The income eligibility (of parents) for sanction of scholarships and full reimbursement of fee to P.G., and professional students is Rs.50,920 per annum and for Degree and other post-matric courses it is Rs.38,220/- . Eligibility for drawal of full fees and half maintenance charges for the latter is Rs.50,920/- per annum. There is no ceiling on the number of post-matric scholarships for SCs except in the case of self-financing courses (SFCs). [2] The Government reimburses the entire tuition fee, special fees and examination fee besides providing a scholarship towards mess charges in attached hostels , ranging between Rs.400/- p.m (Under – graduates) and Rs.525/- p.m. (P.G / professional) [3] . The reimbursement of tuition and other fees for SFCs has a ceiling of Rs.20,000/- per annum; for MBBS it is 2.11 lakhs and for B.Tech Rs.22,000/ - . The estimated expenditure on scholarships during 2003-04 is about Rs.205 crores (Rs.182.5 crores in 2001 –02) . It is significant to note that nearly 83% (Rs.668 crores out of Rs.808 crores) of the Social Welfare

Department (Scheduled Castes) budget is for support to education. Course-wise sanctions of scholarships show that nearly one -third of the sanctioned amount (Rs.68 crores) goes to students of Engineering, Polytechnic/ ITI courses , followed by Intermediate (26.3%) , Degree (17.5%) and Medical / para-Medical and Pharmacy courses (9.3%) . The high proportion of support to students pursuing technical and professional courses is a significant trend of the last five years only. The Department also provides fellowships and contingency grants for research scholars pursuing M.Phil and Ph.D courses if they are not getting any other fellowships.

Schedule Tribes Welfare Programmes:

About 62% (Rs.268 crores out of 433 crores) of the budget (2003 –04) of the Tribal Welfare Department is allocated for education. Of this, about Rs.150 crores is allocated for the maintenance of Ashram Schools / Junior Colleges and hostels and Rs.64 crores is for pre-matric (14 crores) and post-matric (50 crores) scholarships.

The Department of Tribal Welfare maintains 505 hostels for students enrolled in schools in addition to 27 special hostels (20 for boys and 7 for girls) for ST students enrolled in post-matric courses. The total number of student beneficiaries during 2003 –04 from various schemes of financial assistance, is 2,51,725, of whom 2.04 lakhs are boarders in hostels maintained by the Tribal Welfare Department or the A.P.Tribal Welfare Residential Educational Institutions Society (A.P.R.T.E.I.S) . The norms relating to the amount of scholarship for different courses and the income eligibility limits of parents of ST students are the same as that of SCs . One distinguishing feature of the scholarship policy for SCs and STs in Andhra Pradesh is that until 2003 – 04 mess charges to inmates of attached hostels in Universities and Government / aided colleges, and to those of recognised hostels are sanctioned over and above the Government of India scholarship rate.

Pre-matric boarders of tribal welfare hostels and Ashram schools and residential schools receive scholarship of Rs.270/- per month towards maintenance and cosmetics allowance of Rs.20 (Rs.25 for girls) per month besides text books , note books and two pairs of dress free of cost. The same norms are followed for boarders of S.C.Welfare hostels and residential schools. The Department of Tribal Welfare has appointed, during 2003-04, 542 Resource Persons to monitor the performance of the students, identify the problems, if any , and suggest solutions. Research scholars enrolled in M.Phil and Ph.D courses are also given financial support.

Bright ST children, selected by District Selection Committee under the chairmanship of the District Collector in each District, are admitted into the best residential schools located in the capital city or in other cities and towns. Their tuition and maintenance charges (upto a maximum of Rs.20,000/ - per annum) and incidental expenses are met by the Government. Between 1998-99 and 2002 –03, about 5560 students are covered under the scheme in each year. The number includes 304 ST students admitted in two campuses of Hyderabad Public School. However, the scheme has been discontinued after the establishment of four english medium residential schools for STs, one each at Hyderabad , Warangal, Vizag and Tirupati.

Andhra Pradesh has introduced an innovative programme by the establishment of 271 school complexes in the tribal areas of the State. Each School complex provides guidance and counseling to 30 to 40 schools and is centrally located. The State Government provides the requisite manpower, infrastructure and equipment to these complexes. These complexes enable the schools to facilitate the development of literacy in the tribal areas.

The Government has opened 4,317 schools (Girijan Vidya Vikas Kendras) in school-less tribal habitatitions in which there are more than 20 school-age children . Local tribals are appointed as teachers in these schools. Wherever qualified local tribals are not available, the minimum academic qualifications, including the training qualification, are relaxed in recruiting local tribals. These schools have been most helpful in improving access to primary education. [4]

In tribal habitations with less than 20 school- age children, the respective village communities are encouraged by the ITDA to open community schools, called *mabadi* (our school). The experiment, initiated in 1996 – 97, resulted in the opening of 5,441 community schools in the tribal areas of the State, with an enrolment of 43, 411 children. A study, conducted for the UNESCO , termed these schools a success story of community participation and its ability to improve literacy . [5] Enrolment in residential schools (26,893) and Junior Colleges (1,788) has doubled during the past five years.

There has been considerable emphasis on improvement in the performance of students in residential schools, Ashram schools and special hostels. In the schools located in the tribal areas resident teachers are appointed on contract basis against vacancies of regular teachers, with a remuneration of Rs.8,000/- per month. The Project Officers / Principals are also authorised to engage the services of full-time tutors from among qualified unemployed

or retired persons with an honorarium of Rs.5,000/- per month. Bridge courses and special coaching facilities are arranged for backward students and slow learners.

The percentage of passes in SSC examinations of the Residential Schools in the tribal areas has been consistently higher than the State average. During 2002 – 03 the performance of students of the tribal residential schools was higher by at least 15 percent. However, the performance of their counterparts in Ashram Schools was lower than the State average.

Backward Classes Welfare Programmes:

About 76% of the budget of the Backward Classes Welfare Department for 2003 – 04 is allocated to education. Nearly 90% of it is meant for reimbursement of tuition fee (Rs.109 crores) and scholarships (Rs.67.3 crores) , financial support to Backward Class students through post-matric scholarships for hostel inmates are more or less the same as that of SCs and STs. However, the norms for reimbursement of tuition fee vary. [6] Priorities are observed in allocation since the budget is limited. While sanctioning scholarships, priority is accorded to inmates of hostels attached to Government colleges and universities, followed by student managed hostels (SMHs) of government colleges and universities , attached hostels of aided colleges and attached hostels of private unaided colleges.

The scholarships and fee waiver cover 1.56 lakhs of Backward Class students. A third of the allocation is reserved for scholarships to girl students. Post-matric scholarships are sanctioned to B.C.Students, whose parental income does not exceed Rs.33,500/- per annum for general courses and Rs.44,500/- p.a for professional and higher technical courses.

The Backward Classes Department maintains 1,441 hostels with a budget allocation of about Rs.101 crores (2003 –04) for their maintenance , including the diet charges of boarders and other incentives (note books, dresses, etc.) . The Department also maintains 61 Ashram Schools for the children of fishermen and 21 for wadderas and shepherds at a cost of Rs.8.48 crores per annum. B.C. students enrolled in elementary schools are supplied text books free of cost and those from VI to X class on payment in lieu of scholarships.

To encourage B.C.Students pursuing research, the Department has allocated a sum of Rs.30 lakhs (2003 – 04) to benefit 700 research scholars, enrolled in M.Phil and Ph.D programmes, who are not receiving scholarships from any other source. [7]

Performance Incentive to Students:

Prathibha awards or merit scholarships (lumpsum amounts) are awarded to the top few rank holders in the 7th and 10th public examinations in each District and in each category (i.e., ST, SC and BC) besides those in the general merit order. Similar awards are given to those securing the top few ranks in Intermediate, B.A., B.Sc., and B.Com and to the top five rank holders in each of the P.G. courses of each of the universities in the State. The cash awards are given irrespective of the income level of the parents / guardians and in addition to the scholarship to which the rank holders are eligible.

An analysis of the data on results of X public examination shows that during the preceding six academic years the performance of inmates of Social Welfare hostels has improved beyond that of the State average. The pass percentage of students of X class of S.W Residential Schools touched 95% in the public examinations of March, 2002 and that of Intermediate (Plus two) crossed 85%. In the Tribal Welfare Residential Schools also the pass percentage in X class examinations held in March, 2002 exceeded 85% as against the State average of 67.9% . A student of A.P.Social Welfare Residential School topped the State in the SSC examinations of March 2002. The performance of students of BC Residential Schools in the X Class public examinations of March,2003 was 82.71% as against the State average of 75%.

Residential Schools for Weaker Sections:

Andhra Pradesh is a pioneer in providing education through residential schools and colleges for talented children of the STs, SCs and BCs . Their objective is to provide quality education. Another unique feature is that the residential schools and colleges are managed by registered societies with a semblance of autonomy. Each Society has a Board of Governors, consisting of a high – proportion of ex-officio members (all civil servants) and a small proportion of nominated members, with the Principal Secretary of the Administrative Department concerned as its chairperson. The first residential school for STs was started in 1975 at Kinnerasani Dam site, in Khammam District. There are 69 residential schools for STs of which 33 have plus two classes as well. [8] During 2003 – 04 about 30,000 students are enrolled in these schools. The budget provision for these schools is about Rs.22.8 crores (2003 – 04). Only 70% of the residential schools have their own buildings. Once suitable sites are identified construction of buildings is taken up quickly. Usually located on 5 – 10 acres of land, the residential school complexes have excellent physical facilities, including staff quarters and play grounds.

The APSWREI Society manages the residential schools / colleges meant for the S.C . With 46 schools and a student strength of 17,200 in 1983, the number of schools increased to 206 and students to .3 lakhs by 2003–04.[9] The budget allocation for the Society is Rs.135 crores for 2003 – 04. The Government has also opened , during 2002 – 03, residential schools exclusively for girl child labour , also known as Project schools , under the World Bank funded scheme. During 2003 – 04 , nearly 8800 girls are enrolled in the Project Schools. It has a budget (2003–04) allocation of Rs.111 crores for construction and infrastructural facilities and Rs.35 crores for maintenance of the schools, including provision for Rs.10,000/- per annum for each student. The Residential Schools Society of the Department of School Education maintains 30 residential schools meant for B.C. students, with a sanctioned strength of 9,540 students and a budget of Rs.12.03 crores (2003–04).

Ashram Schools:

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has evolved the concept of Ashram Schools, primarily for the tribal habitations, but subsequently extended to some Backward classes like fishermen, wadderas and shepherds. In Ashram schools, the school and the hostel are under one roof. In sparsely populated areas, clusters of hamlets and villages are indentified and Ashram schools are opened . There are 501 Ashram schools for STs with a strength of about 1.57 lakhs inmates (2003 – 04). Of the 501 Ashram schools 288 are primary, 120 upper primary and 93 High schools.

Admission into all the residential schools is based on merit, with 70 – 80 per cent of the seats reserved for the relevant category (ST or SC or BC) and the remaining seats allocated to other categories. The approved rates for providing food (diet charges) and cosmetics (pocket money) are : Rs.270 and Rs.20/- (Rs.25/- for girls) for students enrolled in classes up to VII, and Rs.330/- and Rs.20/- (Rs.25/- for girls) from Classes VIII to X; and Rs.350/ - and Rs.50/- for plus two students.

Overall, education accounts for the bulk of the budgeted expenditure for all the three Departments of Tribal Welfare (62%) , Social Welfare/ Scheduled Castes (83%) and Backward Classes Welfare (77%). Out of the total allocation of about Rs.1500 crores (2003 – 04) for the three Welfare Departments put together education has an allocation of about Rs.1,134 crores or 75.6% . Again , a high proportion of the expenditure within education is allocated for scholarships , fee reimbursement and maintenance of hostels and boarding charges of hostel inmates.

A comparative analysis of the budget allocations for the welfare programmes of STs, SCs and BCs for the States of U.P., A.P, Karnataka , Maharashtra , Tamil Naidu and Punjab for the Year 2002 – 03 reveals that the per capita expenditure was the highest in Andhra Pradesh, with U.P.coming a distant second. The per capita expenditure in the remaining States is less than half of that of Andhra Pradesh. The strength of boarders in hostels of different types in Andhra Pradesh is more than double that of Maharashtra, nearly four times that of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka and sixty times that of Kerala . The expenditure on different categories of hostels in A.P. is about five times that of Tamil Nadu and six times that of Karnataka and Kerala.

Welfarism in Practice : Meaningful and Messy

Several salient features of the programmes, budget allocations and the expenditure patterns of the Departments of Tribal Welfare, Social Welfare and Backward Classes Welfare reflect a high degree of welfare orientation indicative of the State Government's commitment to the directives enshrined in the Indian Constitution. The size of the budget on the welfare component of education, which is huge , with a fast upward growth , is perhaps the highest in absolute terms among the states of South India, not to speak of other states in India. Secondly , there are permanent administrative structures, with large networks of employees, right down to the cutting edge levels. The infrastructure created at each level is wholesome and adequate. There is a concern for improvement in the delivery of services if one goes by the administrative strategies worked out from time to time, such as delegation of powers, simplification of procedures, setting time schedules and deadlines for different items of work. Above all, the concern for stakeholders is widespread among the officials at various levels. A significant proportion of them, including women employees, put in long hours , beyond the fixed hours , in responding to the exacting demands of work and respond positively to situations created by crowding of work during certain weeks and months.

A study based on an evaluation of post-matric scholarships for B.C.students in five districts from the three regions of the State by the A.P.Productivity Council (March, 2003) has noted the following:

- There is an unequal distribution of workload among the Asst.B.C.Welfare Officers (ABCWOs) .
- There is a need for regular inspection of the colleges by the District B.C.Welfare Officers (DBCWOs).

- The DBCWOs need specific guidelines for sanction of fresh scholarships for students in new colleges.
- Proper maintenance of records in B.C.Welfare offices is recommended.

The study , based on an analysis of the student applications, casts doubts about the reliability of the income data on parents.

However, the system suffers from a number of weaknesses , some of which are minor and transient, while others are disturbing and dysfunctional. There has been no revision of the staff strength since 1986 despite an enormous increase in workload on account of expansion of the existing programmes, addition of new schemes and multiplication of the number of beneficiaries over the years. There has been a ten-fold increase in the size of the budgets of the Departments under review. While the budget for education of all the three Departments put together is about Rs.1500 crores for 2003 – 04, post-matric scholarships account for Rs.312 crores, covering 3.37 lakh beneficiaries. It is physically impossible for the Deputy Director, the District Social Welfare Officer (DSWO) and the Asst.Social Welfare Officer (ASWO) or their counterparts in BC Welfare and ST Welfare to fulfil the regulations relating to the visits and physical verification of the potential scholarship holders . For instance, the ASWO has to make 350 visits across five mandals and that too without an office vehicle. In such a context, inspections and verifications tend to be either symbolic or they don't take place at all. As a result, the quality of work suffers . It is reflected in the untimely or delayed disbursement of scholarships / maintenance charges, and even reimbursement of fee against inflated claims by the Principals / hostel wardens. It is also common to find the emergence of unsavory networks of welfare officers and college and hostel managements, facilitating payment of maintenance charges / scholarships to fictitious students and bogus colleges.

It is no wonder that a major scam in post-matric scholarships was reported in March, 2000. The scam involved misappropriation of about Rs. 43 crores in Hyderabad District over a period of about 9 years . Claims made in the name of 20 bogus colleges, with forged signatures, were admitted and cleared. [10] Twenty four employees (seven from Treasury Dept., four from Social Welfare, three from Tribal Welfare, one from BC Welfare , four senior Branch Managers of Banks and five others) were involved in the scam . Twenty one of them were arrested, but three were absconding. Eighteen employees were dismissed by the Government and their properties worth about Rs.40 crores were attached and Rs.2.5 crores in Bank accounts was seized. [11] A special criminal court was constituted to ensure speedy trial

of the cases concerned. A House Committee was also constituted by the Legislative Assembly to go into the entire scam and come up with suggestions for improvement. [12]

Phenomenon of non-serious students:

The loose-ends in the system also relate to absence of effective supervision over the utilisation of the maintenance charges in the universities and colleges. Non-involvement and laxity in supervision by Government functionaries in the allocation of scholarships and administration of the hostels leaves gaps with scope for undesirable consequences. A new phenomenon relates to the emergence of a category of permanent students, who become claimants for scholarships by moving from one course to another, and some of them for more than a decade with the sole objective of staying in the hostels as freeloaders. Many of them tend to become ' dadas ' and political activists, creating parallel structures of administration. Reluctance on the part of the Government to put in statutory limits in regard to the entitlement of scholarship for a number of courses or years, especially at one post-graduate stage, has a negative impact on the academic health of the college and university campuses, often contributing to the growth of indiscipline. While a liberal policy on the award of scholarships, especially universal coverage , is a welcome feature, non-regulation of certain key elements is a glaring weakness of the welfare policy of the government of Andhra Pradesh. One unintended consequence of reluctance at regulation is the widespread perception among the public that the Government is merely pampering some categories of students and indirectly contributing to the growth of indiscipline and other unhealthy academic tendencies in college and university campuses.

Since scholarship is a grant made by the government in support of education the performance of the scholarship holders needs to be monitored. Whose responsibility is this ?. No one has an answer. There is neither a policy nor a structure to monitor this critical aspect so that public money gets due returns to the beneficiary. Academic administrators feel that most of their time is taken away by non-academic issues like getting sanctions for scholarships and management of the hostels. A silly issue in a hostel could escalate into a major problem leading to strikes, dharnas and student unrest. As such, the academics argue that academic institutions have been diverted from their focus on academic matters to the nitty – gritty of menu and mess matters. They suggest that the administration of scholarships and hostels should be the responsibility of the relevant welfare agency of the State Government rather than that of the Principals or Vice –Chancellors . It is quite common

for these functionaries to face the music by way of hartals / dharnas / strikes for inaction or delay in the release of scholarships or when the entire budget for the item is exhausted. When the Government functionaries deliberately withhold information about budgetary limits, especially for scholarships or tuition fee reimbursement to BCs, the academic institutions are put to a disadvantage as they end up receiving the relevant fee neither from the students nor from the Government. Lack of transparency on the part of the Government agencies concerned, therefore, puts the academic functionaries in an irksome situation.

On the other hand, the perception of the Government officers is that since the construction of hostels was funded by the government or U.G.C and since they are located on college / university campuses, the responsibility for their management should squarely rest with the academic institutions concerned. The government merely gives financial support for the education of the weaker sections, its administration is left to the institutions concerned. Over the years, the system had grown to gigantic proportions, without clarity about the roles and responsibilities of different institutions and functionaries at various levels.

Another weakness of the scholarship system is lack of awareness about the budgetary limits and reluctance on the part of government to have a perspective plan for the next five or ten years, pinpointing the likely number of students from different social categories in various courses at different levels and the financial implications of student support by way of scholarships, fee reimbursement, maintenance of government hostels or other subventions. Take an instance, for 2003 – 04, the State Government spent Rs.45.64 crores on scholarships for SCs pursuing Engineering courses only. Projections on estimated expenditure on this item for the next five or ten years would help in the analysis of policy and budgetary implications.

Government is also unwilling to face other irksome questions of a less serious nature about the time schedules for flow of scholarship funds to aided institutions that maintain student hostels. Delay in the disbursement of scholarships is acknowledged by one and all. The scholarship amounts (renewals) for the senior students are not released until after a quarter and for the freshers until after two quarters of the commencement of the academic year. The academic institutions have to carry the financial burden of maintaining the hostels for the period. The anomaly can be rectified if the welfare agencies sanction as advance a specified percentage of the preceding year's total amount, at least to all government and aided institutions.

Similarly, information about the limits to reimbursement of fee for courses, self-financing courses in particular, should be given wide publicity ahead of the commencement of the academic year.

The various categories of heads of accounts for different items and for different types of recipients, sanction, drawal and disbursement procedures are archaic and cumbersome and make people sweat a great deal as they have to spend days and nights, more so during the last week of March, in welfare agencies, the treasuries and the bank offices concerned. Software technology is not being used in critical areas of work to minimize the physical movement of people and files and to improve the reliability and accuracy of data about institutions, individuals and for conveying information on the fee structure for different courses, the budget limits , etc.

If connectivity is established between the State headquarters, District level offices and universities and major colleges, it can ensure speed in information flow, decision making and delivery of services . Creation of a data base based on the unique number of X class for all post-matric scholarship holders will be helpful in tracking down those who are abusing the system. Bio-metric measures of student identification may be added to the data base. [13] Managements attempting to produce fake records for claiming scholarships or students enrolling simultaneously in more than one course for claiming scholarships can be easily identified if appropriate software packages are developed and put to use.

Application formats for scholarship claimants can be made available on on-line instead of going through the age-old procedure of printing and supply of application forms. Switchover to on-line for most of the work operations of the administrative agencies at the State and District headquarters would require systematic and sustained efforts of computerization. Since there are no academic restrictions (pass in the preceding public examination or in a minimum number of subjects, etc.) applications for renewal of scholarships for the second / third year may be filed by the students concerned at the time of admission into the hostels during the relevant year. For a number of reasons, it is necessary to inform the parent / guardian of the student about the sanction of scholarship. Grouping of several institutions — about 20 —in a single claim bill might help in reducing the workload of employees. This suggestion has been communicated for approval and implementation to the Finance Department of the State Government.

The fee structures of various institutions in the unaided category for the same courses presents a great deal of variation. These require to be

standarized keeping the grades obtained in NAAC's assessment and accreditation as a chief reference point. State governments elsewhere (Eg. Maharashtra) reimburses a prescribed amount for each course regardless of the amount of fee charged by the institution.

Conclusion:

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has made rapid strides in adopting and implementing welfare policies of far reaching importance to promote the education of the weaker sections. The endeavour itself reflects the deep commitment of the government, a strong feature by itself. Data presented in the foregoing pages on allocation of public expenditures for the welfare component of education disconfirms the hypothesis that the welfare domain has been shrinking in the context of liberalization/ privatization of higher education. However, as elsewhere, large systems tend to develop inertia and dysfunctional tendencies. The weaknesses, as and when they emerge, need evaluation on a continuing basis.

1. Allocation for social welfare (SCs) increased from Rs.354.30 crores (1996-97) to Rs.807.85 crores (2003-04) . Of this, 82.68% is for programmes of educational support such as scholarships, reimbursement of fees, etc. See *Performance Budget 2003-04,* Social Welfare Dept., Govt. of A.P., Hyderabad.
2. Income limit of parents for eligibility for scholarships and full fee reimbursement was recently raised by the Union Government to Rs.1.00 lakh per annum. See Vaartha (Telugu daily), Hyderabad, dt.20.01.2004
3. Recently the ceiling was raised by the Union Government to Rs.740/- and Rs.525/- respectively. The amount of scholarship for students residing in student managed hostels of the State at present is Rs.250/- p.m . for U.G and P.G.students . For day scholars the amount is Rs.240 for PG/ Professionals; Rs.150/- for Degree and Rs.115/- for Intermediate (plus two) students.

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6. Subject to income eligibility there is full reimbursement of fee for regular courses at P.G and U.G levels. There is no reimbursement of fee for students of SFC courses. For a free seat in Medicine it is Rs.10,000/- ; for government quota seats in private colleges it is Rs.34,000/- ; for management quota seats there is no reimbursement of fee at all.
7. The fellowship amounts are Rs.500/- and Rs.600/- per month and a contingency grant of Rs.1000/- and Rs.1500/- per annum for M.Phil and Ph.D scholars respectively provided they are not receiving any other fellowship.
8. The Department of School Education funds 18 residential schools and the Board of Intermediate Education funds four.
9. The corresponding figures for other states are : Karnataka – 51 schools, Gujarat – 16, Maharashtra – 12 and Rajasthan – 14.
10. There are reports in the press that the number involved was 35 bogus colleges and the scam exceeded Rs.100 crores. See Vaartha (Telugu daily), Hyderabad, dt.7-10-2002 and Eenadu (Telugu daily), Hyderabad, dt.9-12-2002.
11. However, the accused secured Court orders staying the government action in this regard.
12. See proceedings of the A.P.Legislative Assembly (19-7-2002) , Vol.VI, No.5, 2003, pp., 406-07. Also see Vaartha . Op. Cit : Eenadu, Op. Cit; and The New Indian Express , Hyderabad, dt.14.11.2002 .
13. This has already been introduced in the Social Welfare hostels, but not put to use in them as the machines were found to be defective.

11

Values and Finalities of Mid-Day Meal Scheme in Tamil Nadu

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Characteristics of Indian Social Structure and Theoretical Significance for Introduction of Mid-day Meal Scheme

The most obvious and all pervading feature of India of 1947 was its abject poverty. For the year 1948-49, India's National Income was estimated to be Rs. 86.5 thousand million. The economy of India was primarily agricultural. 72 per cent of the total working force was occupied in agriculture. The conditions of those living below the poverty line have remained stagnant or have further deteriorated. According to 1960-61, nearly 50 per cent of the urban population and about 40 per cent of the rural people lived below the poverty line. The corresponding figures for 1977-78 according to the Draft Five Year Plan was 41 per cent in Urban and 48 per cent in rural areas. According to Planning Commission in 1977 - 78, 50.82 per cent for the rural and 48.13 per cent of the total population which means 305.2 million Indian were absolutely poor. The sixth plan estimated it to be around 317 million. Related to the problem of poverty is the rate of growth of unemployment which has been about three times the rate of growth in the labour force. It is the vast ocean of poverty-stricken humanity living especially in the rural side of India, which constituted the basic reality of India.

Widespread illiteracy was one of the factors which prevented the people from coming out of their traditional grooves and developing a modern and

secular outlook. Lack of education hampered social mobility and dissolution of prevailing prejudices and cultural barriers. In such a situation of stasis, development of national outlook and ethos was extremely difficult. Withmore than 60 per cent male and 90 per cent female population being illiterate, soical ties on vertical rather than on a horizontal level were established. As a result, there was inbreeding among different castes and they continue to stay in their respective cells. Due to illiteracy huge mass fall prey to emotions of the religious and caste identities. Poverty is the causl for social evils including non enrollment and school drop outs.

Related to this economic structure were important social features that affect the growth and operation. First of all, the country was typically characterised by a class structure in which power was highly concentrated in a small set of elites.

Thus, little industralization, low agricultural output, low per capita income, very sluggish economic progress, considerable unemployment and underemployment, illiteracy, social interaction on the basis of primordial and vertical ties, and dichotomy between the elite and the masses, were some of the main characteristics of India's social and economic situation just after independence. And all these elements of the socio-economic situation in India discouraged rather than encouraging the development of a united national consciousness. Francine R. Frankel points out that despite their professed aim of carrying out elaborate developmental and welfare functions, the elected governments after independence were present for a name sake. The co-called democratic socialism, gradual change without hurting any vested interests in the established order therefore, have only provided material and ideological foundations of politics of competitive populism.

It is in view of these conditions and rising expectations of the masses the country needs to augument its literacy rate. Nehru said that the goal of the government is to raise the standard of the whole people.... to higher levels and hence the general advancement of humanity. Dr. Radhakrishnan described it as, Indian must have a 'socio-economic revolution' designed not only to bring about the real satisfaction of the fundamental needs of the common man', but to go much deeper and bring about 'a fundamental change in the structure of Indian society". How will you change the structure when people are poverty stricken? What are the means to be adopted? The first and the formost parameter to change the structure of the country in cohesion is through education. How will they come to school when they suffer from hunger? The strategy of the NMP is to convert the superior number of the illiterate poor

into national weapon to augment the progress and development of the person and subsequently the national power.

Origin of the Mid day Meal Scheme

The Mid day meal scheme is not a recent origin, but rather it has its own history. Free mid-day meals for school students were first introduced in a Japanese private school in the late 1800s, in Brazil in 1938 and in the United States in 1946.

Madras Presidency was the second country to introduce the Mid day meal scheme in 1920s. Sir P. Thiyagaraya Chettyar leader of the Justice Party made lot of efforts to start Mid day meals in the Madras Presidency in 1920s when he was Chairman of the Madras Municipality.[1] When he first served as a member of the Madras Municipality from 1882 to 1920, on his request and demand in 1915-16 a few schools were started for the Panchamas (Depressed Class) and in 1921-22 a school was started for fisherman community in Mylapore and free education was given to them. And during his tenure as Chairman, he introduced the noon meal scheme in Madras for the children belonging to the poor families. He resolved that Madras Municipality should provide atleast one meal a day for the school going children. He made this facility after having witnessed that the students from poor family were suffering from poverty and they tended to go to work instead of attending the school. At first, the schools in Thousand Light area provided break fast to the children. As a result of this introduction of break fast, the school enrolment increased phenomenally from 3075 to 4000.[2]

As a result of the huge success, the programme was extended to Meer Sahib Pet and Seth Pet, Orapalayam, Kokranai and Basin areas. Reasons unkown even to God, the British asked the Municipality to cancel this programme. Consequently, there was a sharp decline in school attendance. After a short span of period, the British government again permitted to continue the scheme in 1927.

Kamaraj and Mid day Meal Scheme

In order to increase school enrolment when Kamaraj became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu in 1954, he started schools in all villages and colleges in all districts. The primary schools had gone up from 16, 037 in 1951 to 27, 108 in 1961 and further to 30, 554 in 1966.[3] He soon noticed that the enrolment that he expected was not that encouraging and found that the students were not studying well because of the class room hunger. A novel idea appeared to introduce mid day meals in Adi Dravida Community schools as the "the Poor

Feeding Programme"in 1956 to stop class room hunger, in fact, he was the first man to create a history in establishing massive scheme in India, second only to Japan. He was committed to implement this scheme and openly reiterated that "the children who suffer from poverty can not study well. In order to provide mid day meals to the children, I will set aside all my works and prepared to go to all places to collect money like a beggar".[4] In this scheme, about 20 lakh children from standards I to VIII of elementary schools were fed for all school working days (200 days) in a year. The government's contribution was only 10 paise per child and a provision was made for 5 paise contribution form local bodies.[5] In 1961, the government started receiving American aid for the programme and it was expanded to all corporation and government schools in urban areas.

MGR and Mid day Meal Scheme

Though partially launched in 1956, the mid-day meal programme was given full shape and form by the state's actor-turned chief minister the late M.G. Ramachandran in July 1, 1982. On the eve of the start of the programme, MGR had opined that "this scheme is an outcome of my experiece of extreme starvation at an age when I knew only to cry when I was hungry."[6] He introduced nutritious noon meal scheme to children available all the 365 days in ayear to the children belonging to the rural areas in the age group of 2 to 5 (pre school children) and 5-9 years (primary school children) studying in classes 1-5 at free of cost.It provides for an outright grant to schools of 45 paise per child for feeding and 5 paise per child for administrative expenses. Since then its efficient state-wide implementation has vaulted Tamil Nadu into the ranks of the most literate states of the Indian Union (adult literacy: 73.5 percent), an attribute which has endowed this southern state (pop. 62 million) with a shower of benefits including a stable population, steady industrialisation and perhaps the best physical and social infrastructure in the country.

The Nutritious noon meal scheme was further expanded to all pre-primary schools and elementary schools in the urban areas. In the age-group of 2to 5 years are catered by child welfare centres where a trained 'Bala Sevika' and two helpers are given responsibility to look after them. In recruiting them the Balasevika and helpers preference was given to widows and destitute women.[7]

As the outcome of this initiation, it had resulted in increasing the overall enrolment of children by 2.63 lakhs in 1982-83 and by 3.82 lakhs in 1983-84 and the average additional renrolment prior to the introduction of this scheme

was only around 1.75 lakhs. This scheme was again extended still further to cover the age group from 10-15 years with effect from 15th September 1984.[8]

The successful introduction of Tamil Nadu's NMP prompted the creation of a National Programme of Nutritional Support to primary education (popularly known as the mid-day meal scheme) in 1995. Under this programme the Union HRD Ministry supplies free food grains to primary school children at the rate of 100 gm per child for ten months in year.

Kaligar Karunanidhi and Mid day Meal Scheme

From June 3rd 1989 was given to each of the children taking nutritious noon meal once in a fortnight.From June 1st 1998 one boiled egg was being supplied to the each of children once in a week.

Eggs are a rich source of vitamins, minerals and calcium. In a country like ours, where malnutrition and protein deficiency are major causes that affect the health, specially of the rural poor.

Puratchithalaivi J Jayalalitha and Mid day Meal Scheme

The Tamil Nadu Government decided to replace eggs with potatoes in the noon meal scheme in 2002. Again in 2003 Tamil Nadu Chief Minister Jayalalithaa ordered the inclusion of curry leaves powder and drumstick leaves powder in the nutritious noon meal scheme. Their inclusion would help eradicate vitamin 'A' deficiency in children, partaking mid-day meals in 'anganwadis' in the state. Each child would be given two grams of either curry leaves powder or drumstick leaves powder per day for five days in a week. In the first stage, the new scheme would be implemented in two unions of Theni, Kancheepuram, Vellore, Tiruvannamalai, Cuddalore and Perambalur districts, at a total cost of Rs 22 lakh, benefiting nearly 35,000 children.The self-help groups for women, functioning under the control of Tamil Nadu Women's development Corporation, would supply these powders to the anganwadis. The presence of 'Beta carotin' helps the overall growth of small children, it said.

Tamil Nadu: Setting the Standards

Informal visits to nine primary schools in rural Tamil Nadu covered three districts of Kancheepuram, Nagapattinam and Dharmapuri by Jean Dreze visiting professor at the Delhi School of Economics. The mid-day meal programme in these schools is an outstanding example of what can be achieved when quality safeguards are in place. Each school had a cooking shed and a paid staff of three women — a cook, a helper and an organiser who looked

after the logistics and accounts. The organisers claimed that mid-day meals had been served on time every day of the year since the inception of the scheme in 1982. Mid-day meals here seem to enjoy the support of the entire village community as well as the teachers. With sound arrangements in place, the meals do not interfere with teaching duties, and most teachers appreciate the positive aspects of providing school lunches. As one of them put it, mid-day meals are conducive to "improved education".

Astonishingly, the unit cost of mid-day meals in Tamil Nadu is not particularly high — about Re 1 per child per day, the same as in Karnataka.

Under the Tamil Nadu government's Nutritious Meal Programme (NMP), 7.8 million children are provided a daily cooked meal in 39,036 rural and 2,082 urban centres. In addition 19,366 ICDS (Integrated Child Development Scheme) — a central government initiative — sponsored child welfare centres also provide noon meals. The state government's budgetary provision for NMP for the year 2003-04 is a relatively sizeable Rs.659.39 crore (2.47 percent of its annual budgetary outlay). Against this modest cost, the benefit has been a dramatic increase in school enrollment in the state — in primary schools it has shot up 31 percent from 5.04 million in 1985-86 to 6.59 million in 2002-03. Moreover in middle school, drop-outs have decreased from 24 to 13.85 percent during the same period. "A free mid-day meal is provided to all children in government, corporation, panchayat and municipal schools — primary and secondary — in the state. The main objective of the mid-day meal scheme was to boost enrollment and reduce school drop-outs. These objectives have been substantially attained, with dramatic impact on the enrollment and retention of girl children in particular. Additionally it has provided employment to destitute mothers who work as cooks in the various noon meal centres in the state. Our well-developed infrastructure and community participation has ensured that the scheme runs smoothly, without any problems," says Chandrakanta Gariyali, secretary, social welfare department of the government of Tamil Nadu.

Noon Meal Components in 1999-2000 (Quantity in Grams)

Age Group	Rice	Dhal	Oil	Vegetables	Cost (Rs) of Ingredients
2-5	80	10	2	50	0.44
5-9	100	15	1	50	0.45
10-15	120	15	1		
OAPs/widows	200	15	1	50	0.90

Puratchi Thalaivar M.G.R. Nutritious Meal Programme Centres 2001-2002

Sl. No.	District	Number of Centres		
		School Panchayat Unions	Sectors Municipalities	Local Bodies Municipal Corporations
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Chennai	* 451	—	690
2.	Kancheepuram	1445	68	—
3.	Tiruvallur	1389	74	—
4.	Cuddalore	1495	61	—
5.	Villupuram	2167	20	—
6.	Vellore	2110	122	—
7.	Tiruvannamalai	1796	44	—
8.	Salem	1483	27	73
9.	Namakkal	961	61	—
10.	Dharmapuri	2469	25	—
11.	Erode	1772	40	—
12.	Coimbatore	1696	103	91
13.	The Nilgiris	507	20	—
14.	Tiruchirapalli	1433	4	44
15.	Karur	759	12	—
16.	Perambalur	954	—	—
17.	Pudukkottai	1456	19	—
18.	Thanjavur	1458	146	—
19.	Nagapattinam	1074	45	—
20.	Tiruvarur	899	15	—
21.	Madurai	1322	8	71
22.	Theni	634	23	—
23.	Dindigul	1524	31	—
24.	Ramanathapuram	1182	13	—
25.	Virudhunagar	1335	35	—
26.	Sivagangai	1231	26	—
27.	Tirunelveli	2051	22	33
28.	Toothukudi	1455	21	—
29.	Kanniyakumari	691	—	—
	STATE	**39199**	**1085**	**1002**

* Chennai Corporation

Sl.No 1	District 2	Social Welfare C.N.C 6	Sectors World Bank C.W.C 7	ICDS III Project I.C.D.S 8
1.	Chennai	—	—	1017
2.	Kancheepuram	—	—	1607
3.	Tiruvallur	—	—	1525
4.	Cuddalore	878	878	385
5.	Villupuram	1644	1644	146
6.	Vellore	1155	1378	356
7.	Tiruvannamalai	880	1349	—
8.	Salem	1999	1577	326
9.	Namakkal	—	—	49
10.	Dharmapuri	1089	1060	335
11.	Erode	1274	962	82
12.	Coimbatore	810	810	537
13.	The Nilgiris	—	—	334
14.	Tiruchirapalli	1714	1713	200
15.	Karur	—	—	—
16.	Perambalur	—	—	—
17.	Pudukkottai	—	—	1267
18.	Thanjavur	935	1332	192
19.	Nagapattinam	857	460	120
20.	Tiruvarur	—	—	121
21.	Madurai	1533	1141	361
22.	Theni	—	—	84
23.	Dindigul	916	662	334
24.	Ramanathapuram	458	434	170
25.	Virudhunagar	421	421	371
26.	Sivagangai	569	471	79
27.	Tirunelveli	1190	847	106
28.	Toothukudi	598	608	219
29.	Kanniyakumari	580	580	97
	STATE	**19500**	**18327**	**10420**

Source: 1. Director of Social Welfare, (I.C.D.S. Wing) Chennai.
2. Director of Rural Development (Noon Meal Programme), Chennai-15.
3. The Project Coordinator, World Bank ICDS-III, Project, Chennai.116.

Beneficiaries Under Puratchi Thalaivar M.G.R. Nutritions Meal Programme in Tamilnadu - 2001-2002

Sl.No	District	Number of Children (Age group wise)			
		2+4 *	5+9 **	10+15 **	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Chennai	26149	179003	133857	339009
2.	Kancheepuram	42473	201802	73738	318013
3.	Tiruvallur	41604	170647	65640	277891
4.	Cuddalore	14127	174724	57792	246643
5.	Villupuram	4845	258752	119386	382983
6.	Vellore	12102	300772	167508	480382
7.	Tiruvannamalai	—	202628	102774	305402
8.	Salem	10378	161033	56866	228277
9.	Namakkal	1179	85025	26153	112357
10.	Dharmapuri	12672	269093	110881	392646
11.	Erode	1995	138072	29649	169716
12.	Coimbatore	13386	189726	57718	260830
13.	The Nilgiris	8055	45423	6532	60010
14.	Tiruchirapalli	5290	135040	66104	206434
15.	Karur	—	61551	18362	79913
16.	Perambalur	—	111672	44212	155884
17.	Pudukkottai	35457	135713	77946	249116
18.	Thanjavur	5533	151632	36376	193541
19.	Nagapattinam	3187	117065	50751	171003
20.	Tiruvarur	3120	94175	33993	131288
21.	Madurai	10130	186278	53522	249930
22.	Theni	3148	76601	33158	112907
23.	Dindigul	10169	175805	46919	232893
24.	Ramanathapuram	4524	131747	35683	171954
25.	Virudhunagar	11242	145862	38313	195417
26.	Sivagangai	1864	101636	43679	147179
27.	Tirunelveli	3180	245011	54706	302897
28.	Toothukudi	6202	142039	40350	188591
29.	Kanniyakumari	2660	101914	92877	197451
	STATE	**294671**	**4490441**	**1775445**	**6560557**

Source: * Director of Social Welfare, I.C.D.S. Wing (2+4 Years), Chennai-5. ** Director of Rural Development (Noon Meal Programme), Chennai-15.and Commissioner of Municipal Administration (Noon Meal Programme), Chennai-5.

Karnataka: Kalam launches meal scheme for poor children: Kids for Kids Programme

Kalam was inaugurating the 'Kids for Kids' programme, an extension of 'Akshaya Patra', a mid-day meal scheme that now covers about 43,000 poor children in and around Bangalore. The 'Kids for Kids' programme is a new exercise where the urban and more affluent children will make a donation of Rs 100 per month to Akshaya Patra to support the mid-day meal scheme for the poorer children.

In a rare gesture, the President joined the underprivileged children at the ISKCON (International Society for Krishna Consciousness) temple in Bangalore to have a meal. The Akshaya Patra Foundation, initiated by ISKCON, Bangalore, now has several patrons, like the State Government, the Department of Public Instruction, a few corporate houses and many individuals who have contributed to its success.

Lauding the efforts of ISKCON, Dr Kalam said that this was not just 'Anna (rice) Akshaya Patra' that ISKCON is giving to society, but also 'Vidya (knowledge) Akshaya Patra, because, "When you get good food and nutrition, it leads to good education and knowledge and the process of development of society is speeded up."

The Akshaya Patra programme was started in July 2000 by serving 1,500 children. It then scaled 12,500 children by April 2002 and now has 43,000 children benefiting from the meal programme. "The programme should reach about 1,00,000 children by this year-end," said Swami Madhu Pandit Das, Chairman, Akshaya Patra Foundation and President, ISKCON, Bangalore.

The scheme plans to cover about 2,50,000 hungry children by 2005. There are also plans to replicate the programme in North India to reach out to at least 25,000 children, according to Swami Chanchalapathy Das of ISKCON, Bangalore.

Introduction of Mid day meals scheme in Chatisgarah, Rajasthan and Karnataka

The Centre for Equity Studies, New Delhi, had undertaken a study to assess the quality and scope of the mid-day meal programme across the country. And to determine what improvements are required to fully realise its potential.

The survey, which covered the three states of Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan and Karnataka, was conducted between January and April 2003. Twenty-seven villages were randomly selected in each sample state. Field surveys, that involved detailed interviews with teachers, parents and cooks in the 81 villages, focused on several qualitative and quantitative issues.

Earlier research on primary education in rural India suggests that mid-day meals enhance school participation, especially among girls. One recent study estimates that the provision of a mid-day meal in the local school is associated with a 50 per cent reduction in the proportion of girls who are out of school.[9] This observation is based on comparing school enrolment in July 2002 with the corresponding figures one year earlier, before mid-day meals were introduced. Taking the 81 sample schools together, Class 1 enrolment rose by 15 per cent between July 2001 and July 2002. This surge in enrolment is driven mainly by impressive jumps in female enrolment in Chhattisgarh (17 per cent) and Rajasthan (29 per cent). Provisional enrolment data for Chhattisgarh and Rajasthan as a whole, supplied by the Education Department, also suggest major jumps in female enrolment in 2002-03: 19 per cent and 18 per cent, respectively. There is a striking break here from the trend increase in school enrolment (about 2 per cent per year in the 1990s), and the bulk of this break is likely to reflect the impact of mid-day meals.

Values of Mid day Meal Scheme

Education: Boosting school enrolment

There is also plenty of informal evidence to suggest that the prospect of mid-day meals improves daily school attendance, not just annual enrolment. Many parents and most teachers report that it is easier to send their children off to school each morning, especially the younger ones.

Teachers report that the programme makes it easier to retain children in school after the lunch-break, since children who go home for lunch often do not return to school, especially if distances are great. Now, according to a large majority (78%) of the teachers interviewed, afternoon attendance is roughly the same as morning attendance.

Ending class room hunger and the beginning of hunger for Excellence

Many children go to school on an empty stomach and find it hard to concentrate in the classroom beyond a few hours. This invariably affects their performance. Providing them with meals puts an end to the phenomenon of 'classroom hunger'.

Noon meals have also solved the problem of hunger in general. For instance, this year the programme helped lessen the possibility of child under-nutrition in a number of drought-affected areas. Poor households headed by landless labourers or widows value the assurance of one free wholesome meal a day for their children. In tribal areas too, where hunger is endemic, the contribution of school meals to food security is crucial.

Aiding the process of Socialisation

Mid-day meals contribute to socialisation, in a caste and class-ridden society. It has been noted that the experience of sharing a common meal helps erode caste prejudices and class inequities.

Promoting gender equality

Mid-day meals promote gender equality in two ways. Since they contribute to an increase in female enrolment over male enrolment, they reduce the gender gap in education. The system also creates employment opportunities for poor women. In Tamil nadu, all the three worker are women, whereas in Rajasthan, Karnataka and Chhattishgarh an overwhelming 68% of cooks are women, and most of them come from underprivileged backgrounds. Not surprising, as the work is fairly demanding and salaries are low. In addition, the scheme guidelines often state that in the appointment of cooks priority should be given to the disadvantaged. In Karnataka, for instance, the guidelines clearly specify that all cooks must be women, with preference given to widows.

School meals also contribute to the liberation of women. When children are assured a hot nutritious meal outside the home, mothers (especially those who work, or those with no domestic support) are freed from the task of preparing noon meals.

Health

The Mid day meal scheme fosters good health status of the children. This removes malnutrition. Health of the nation is the wealth of the nation. Therefore, the ultimate aim is to have children with good quality of the education along with good health.

Issues in non implementation of Mid day meals

It's a measure of the low priority accorded to elementary education in post-independence India that only on July 1, 2003 was the long-standing proposal to provide a free mid-day meal to all students in government primary schools implemented in the southern state of Karnataka (pop. 56 million). After the introduction of its Akshara Dasoha mid-day meal scheme, Karnataka became the eighth of India's 31 state governments to action this scheme which has universally effected dramatic improvements in school enrollment. However some of the largest states of the Indian Union including Uttar Pradesh (pop. 160 million), Maharashtra (96 million), Bihar (82 million) and West Bengal (80 million) are yet to introduce the free mid-day meal scheme within their administrative jurisdictions.

Supreme Court Directives

Given the proven efficacy of the mid-day meal scheme in improving school enrollment and attendance in a society in which an estimated 59 million children in the age-group six-14 are out of school, it is shocking that only half of India's 31 states provide cooked mid-day meals in schools within their administrative borders, though three states have launched the scheme on a pilot basis in some districts. Seven states with an aggregate population of 400 million don't provide a cooked meal despite a Supreme Court judgement of 2001 directing all state governments to provide cooked mid-day meals in primary schools within six months.

In its judgement in People's Union for Civil Liberties vs. Union of India & Ors (Writ Petition (Civil) No. 196 of 2001) the apex court decreed that state governments must "implement the mid-day meal scheme by providing every child in every government and govern-ment assisted primary schools with a prepared mid-day meal with a minimum content of 300 calories and 8-12 grams of protein each day of school for a minimum of 200 days. Those governments providing dry rations instead of cooked meals must within three months (28 February 2002) start providing cooked meals in all government and government-aided primary schools in half of the districts of the state (in order of poverty) and must within a further period of three months (28 May 2002) extend the provision of cooked meals to the remaining parts of the state."

Though most of the defaulting state governments failed to meet the apex court deadline of May 28, 2002, the governments of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh have expanded their mid-day schemes to cover all primary

schools administered and aided by them. The recalcitrant states which despite repeated warnings from the Supreme Court have not yet implemented the cooked mid-day meal scheme are Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkhand which host an aggregate population of 275 million citizens of whom 50 percent are comprehensively illiterate. These states have remained indifferent even to the Supreme Court's order of May 2, 2003 that they "make a meaningful beginning of the cooked mid-day meal scheme in at least 25 percent of the districts, which may be most poor".

Following this latest directive of the apex court, in Uttar Pradesh — India's most populous (160 million) state — in June this year the government cleared the decks for providing cooked mid-day meals in six of its most backward districts. But following the fall of the Mayawati government on corruption changes, this project still awaits implementation. The initiative which would benefit 1.5 million students in 8,670 primary schools and cost the state exchequer a mere Rs.20 crore (an infinitesimal percentage of the state government's annual expenditure of Rs.49,000 crore) has been shelved because of "lack of funds".

Though lack of budgets and financial resources is the standard excuse of recalcitrant state governments, the consensus of informed opinion is that it is the lack of political, bureaucratic and societal will which has delayed and hamstrung the implementation of the free mid-day meal for school children.

According to the CES survey (mentioned earlier), the approximate cost to state governments of providing cooked meals for 200 days a year (as stipulated by the Supreme Court) is a mere Re.1 per day per capita because the central government provides grains and cereals from the rotting 65 million tonne foodgrains mountain stored in the makeshift godowns of the public sector Food Corporation of India. Therefore for instance, it would cost the Uttar Pradesh government a mere Rs.300 crore per year to provide mid-day meals to all primary (upto class V) children.

Why not Implemented

The only pockets of resistance to the scheme are to be found within the warrens of the powerful bureaucracies of the central and state governments which have to finance and action the scheme. But as discussed, their usual argument of paucity of resources to universalise the programme on a national scale is unwarranted. Likewise the arguments related to waste of teacher time and disruption of the academic calendar are unsustainable, if not specious.

The bottom line is that the politician-bureaucracy combine is less driven by moral exhortations than by public pressure. Therefore there is a great onus on the academic community and the nation's educated middle class in particular to intensify pressure on the political establishment to extend coverage of the provenly beneficial free mid-day meal to all government schools across the country. The national interest plainly demands it.

This conspicuous lack will to implement a scheme which offers great cost-benefit advantages is rooted in several socio-economic factors. For one, India's new tribe of self-perpetuating politicians is subliminally aware that an educated population is certain to demand good governance and accountability from them. Secondly there is a deep-rooted bias in favour of merit-based rather than universal education within the nation's dominant middle class. Thus while considerable pains are taken to establish excellent institutions of education such as the Kendria Vidyalayas and Jawahar Navodalayas and top-rung private sector schools for high performance primary and secondary students (and the IITs and IIMs for school leavers), there is little interest within governments at the central and state levels to raise universal primary and secondary education standards which would benefit poor citizens at the base of India's complex and massive social pyramid.

"Politicians and bureaucrats tend to be lukewarm about the free mid-day meal programme because there are very few rent-seeking opportunities in such low-budget schemes. In fiscal 2001-02 the Karnataka state government spent Rs.35 crore on free uniforms for school children but could spare only Rs.1.06 crore for partial implementation of the mid-day meal scheme. Hence the lack of pressure (from the poor) for the noon meal programme despite its obvious socio-economic benefits," says Dr. A.S. Seetharamu, professor of education at the Institute of Social & Economic Change, Bangalore.

Low rent-earning opportunities apart, a possible cause of the general lack of will within state governments to action the school mid-day meal programme could be lack of confidence about implementing this inevitably massive programme while maintaining minimum quality standards. Within a week of expanding its free mid-day meal scheme to all primary schools on July 1 last year, the Karnataka government's much-publicised Akshara Dasoha free meals scheme suffered a major setback when over 150 children in the Gadag district were taken ill after a mid-day meal in school. NGOs and social activists alleged that the food was prepared by untrained cooks in unhygienic cooking conditions. But despite this initial hiccup, the government persisted with the programme and today it's listed as a major achievement of the S.M.

Krishna administration. Indeed the CES study is replete with high praise. "Karnataka boasts the best menu: apart from rice and sambhar, school children enjoy vegetables, pongal, lemon rice and even sweets like kshira," say the authors of the study.

"There were some problems in the initial stages, mainly due to the hasty appointment of untrained cooks, which were blown out of proportion by the media. The problem occurred only in about ten locations while the Akshara Dasoha programme was implemented in 38,000 villages. However we learned a lesson. Now we formally train cooks in cooking as well as hygiene and cleanliness. District level training camps of three-five days duration are conducted in all district headquarters to train kitchen staff. Moreover to date 8,000 kitchen blocks have been built in schools and another 30,000 will be built by the end of the next academic year," says G. Chandrashekhar, the Bangalore-based joint director of the mid-day meal scheme.

The general lack of establishment enthusiasm in some states is also influenced by the widely held belief that the provision of cooked meals disrupts classroom processes. Some media reports suggest that teachers spend too much time supervising culinary operations to the detriment of academic timetables. Jean Dreze (quoted earlier) acknowledges this apprehension while dismissing it as exaggerated. "Sensitisation of teachers about the positive aspects of the scheme is very important. The majority of teachers fear classroom disruption and worry that it will take up too much of their time. Greater awareness of the benefits of mid-day meals would help to overcome such fears," says Dreze.

Decentralizing Free Mid day Meal

The critical importance of decentralising the free mid-day meal to the maximum possible degree has impacted itself upon the educrats of the Union HRD ministry in New Delhi. The ministry is currently proposing the constitution and involvement of independent self-help groups in the form of mothers' groups in every school offering the scheme. "The main work is at the micro level. The more we involve government machinery, the more difficult it becomes to supervise because this is a programme which needs micro-management at the grassroot level. Village Education Committees and Village Panchayats have to assume responsibility of ensuring that the mid-day meal scheme works in their local schools," says S.C. Tripathi secretary, elementary education in the ministry.

State governments also need to co-opt and involve India's massive number of NGOs (non-government organisations) which are ever-ready to

lend a helping hand to education causes. For instance in Karnataka 20 NGOs provide free mid-day meals to 100,000 children in 670 schools while the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) in Bangalore offers a daily mid-day meal to 50,000 children (see box). Likewise in Hyderabad, the Nandi Foundation manages a central kitchen which provides mid-day meals to approximately 200,000 children. Quite clearly the introduction of nutritious and quality free mid-day meals for children in all government schools — primary and secondary — is a long overdue and urgent necessity. The Supreme Court believes it; the over-whelming majority of academics and NGOs agree, and a growing number of hitherto apathetic parents at the base of the social pyramid has emerged as a pressure group for this programme whose vital connection with the spread of literacy and education is painfully self-evident.

Conclusions

The experience so far clearly shows that mid-day meals have much to contribute to the well-being and future of Indian children. However, qualitative improvements are urgently required if the meals are to achieve their full potential.

Financial allocations need to be raised. Badly funded programmes, like those in Chhattisgarh and Rajasthan, miss a vital opportunity to promote important social goals at a relatively low cost. A moderate amount of additional expenditure could radically enhance the quality of mid-day meals.

- The infrastructure for mid-day meals requires urgent improvement. Adequate infrastructure is particularly crucial to avoid the disruption of classroom processes, and also to ensure proper hygiene.
- Close supervision and regular inspections are essential to achieve higher quality standards. Better monitoring would also help eradicate petty corruption, such as the pilferage of food by various intermediaries.
- The socialisation value of mid-day meals could be enhanced by firmly dealing with instances of social discrimination. Clear guidelines for the selection of cooks need to be issued and enforced. The lunchtime routine could be used to impart various good habits to children, such as washing one's hands before and after eating.
- More varied and nutritious lunch menus are recommended, particularly in Rajasthan. The need to enhance the nutritional content of mid-day meals applies to all states.

- The mid-day meal programme could be extended and linked to related programmes such as micronutrient supplementation, health services and nutrition education. For example, in Karnataka, iron and deworming tablets are provided at school. Tamil Nadu has gone further in this direction — school children get regular health checkups and free treatment for illnesses such as anaemia, worms and scabies.
- Importantly, truant states need to be persuaded to initiate the mid-day meal programme. This applies especially to Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, where school attendance and nutrition levels are abysmal. These states have pleaded lack of funds as a reason for their negligence, but experience elsewhere shows that gathering the requisite resources is really a matter of political will.

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134

12

Free And Compulsory Primary Education for All: Constitutional Promise and Administrative Devolution

DR.M.KENNEDY STEPHENSAN VASEEKARAN

Introduction :

Free and Compulsory primary education for all irrespective of region, caste, language or any other discrimination possible, is a *only* promise of the Constitution of India within a time frame. But it is criticized on the ground that this promise was not kept by the all the successive governments both at the center and in the states. The reason for this state of affairs was reviewed by the every conceivable group in India. Then with all these criticisms, the government enacted a legislation to provide free compulsory primary education for all. At present illiteracy has become a household world, where, every person talk about it, but never made any attempt to address the issue in a more constructive way. Among the States in India the State of Tamil Nadu and Kerala recently enacted the bills on Compulsory Free Elementary education . The Tamil Nadu Compulsory Elementary Education Act,1994 promises elementary education for all with out discrimination social or economic. This paper attempts to study the state of primary education in the state of Tamil Nadu. This paper has been divided into three parts. The first part deals with the Constitutional Provisions for free and compulsory education for all. The second part deals with implementation of primary education programme in Tamil Nadu. In the third part, an attempt has been made to focus on the issues in primary education.

Part – I

The Article 45 of the Constitution of India says that " the state shall endeavor to provide, with in a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age fourteen years" In a case[1] the Kerala high court held that with the regard the scope of the provision that, " not being justifiable , the present Article does not confer legally enforceable right upon primary schools to receive grants-in- aid from the government. The Directive does not empower the State to override the fundamental right of minority communities to establish educational institutions of their own choice under Article 30(1) of the Constitution of India. It is possible for the state to discharge its obligation under the present Article through Government and aided schools.[2] In another case the Supreme Court held that " can the state flout the said direction ? Does not the passage of 44 years convert the obligation into an enforceable right?[3] The Article 45 of the Constitution of India should be read with Article 46 and Article 47, which talk about the promotion and nutritional and status of children in primary schools.

The Article 46 of the Constitution of India states that " the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them form social injustice and all forms of exploitation" In a case[4], the Madras High Court held that this provision merely declares the objective of the State and , like other Directives, and it does not confer any justifiable right. Hence, a member of a backward class can not obtain relief from the court when he is denied any concession in the school fees. Since two provisions relating to Fundamental Rights Viz., Articles 15 and 29(2) been amended by the Constitution (Ist Amendment) Act,1951, which made possible for the State to make special provision, e.g. to build a State colony, for the habitation of Harijans , notwithstanding the bar against discrimination on the ground of caste.[5] There is another important issue in this provision, that is , the expression " weaker sections" has not yet been defined. The Supreme Court observed that there are millions of other citizens apart from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who also belong to the weaker sections, and directed the Central government to draw up a guideline for this purpose.[6] In Indra Sawhney V. Union India's, case the Supreme Court has clarified that the expression " weaker sections" of the people is wider than the expression "backward class" of citizens, which is only a part of the weaker sections. Backward classes comprise only those which are socially

or economically backward. The term weaker sections does not necessarily refer to a group or a class. It connotes all sections of society which are rendered weaker due to various causes e.g. poverty ,natural calamity or physical handicap.[7] A Division Bench has held that poor fishermen who earn their living by fishing in territorial waters by traditional implements are members of "weaker sections" under Article 46 so that the State is under the delegation to protect their interests.[8]

As far as Article 47 is concerned it says that " the State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties and, in particular, that State shall endeavor to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health. The provision of Noon Meal to the school children is supposed to be an obligation on the part of the state, which many states do not adhere to.

The Part IV A inserted by the Constitution (42nd Amendment) Act,1976.laid down that the one of the fundamental duties of every citizen of India as (g) to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wild life, and to have compassion for living creatures" In view of this duty imposed on the citizens, a Division Bench of the Supreme Court[9] has held that it is a duty of the Central Government to take a number of steps in order to make this provision effective and directed the Central Government : To direct all educational institutions throughout India to give weekly lessons in the first ten classes relating to the protection and improvement of the natural environment including forests, lakes , rivers and wild life; To get text books written for the said purpose and to distribute them free of cost, To introduce short term courses for training up teachers who teach this subject.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 26 states that : "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free .... Elementary Education shall be compulsory. A bill which aims at making education a fundamental right for every citizen of the country sits in Parliament, waiting to be passed. Some States such as Kerala and Tamil Nadu, promise free education for children. Some questions remain: How good is the education provided ? Should it be made compulsory? Must free education be extended to standard 10th instead of the present cut –off of 14 years?

The World's Children Report 2000(UNICEF) raise other questions : India shows a primary enrolment rate of over 100 per cent, 75 per cent of the boys and 61 per cent girls attend primary school. Only 59 per cent of the boys

and 39 of girls enroll in secondary school Where do the remaining children go? With reference to this question, the Article 24 of the Constitution of India says : "No child below the age of fourteen yeas shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment" The enforceability of Article 24 in a case the Supreme Court held that the right of a child under this Article enforceable even in the absence of implementing legislation and in a public interest proceeding.[10]

The Convention on the Rights of the Child Article 3 says that " the right of the child to be protected from the economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. The scenario of child labour in India shows that the child labour were , under paid, under fed and often working as bonded laborers to pay off familial debts. Children well below 14 years of age are a significant part of India's labour force. In December 1996, the Supreme Court ordered a survey of child labourers. It ruled that children who work must be taken out of the labout market, given compensation and sent to school. Very few child have been rescued by this well meaning but clearly ineffectual order. Tamil Nadu has a good number of children working in hazardous industries (match , fireworks , silver smithies) has so for provided compensation to only eight children.

With regard to the medium of instruction in the primary schools, Article 350 A was inserted in the Constitution of India by the Constitution (7th Amendment)Act, 1956., which says that " it shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups ; and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities"

Under Article 29(1) a linguistic minority has the fundamental right to conserve its own language and Article 350 A directs every State to provide adequate facilities for education at the primary stage in the language of a linguistic minority for children belonging to such a community.[11] There is a violation of Article 29(1),read with Article 350 A, if a State compels a linguistic minority, at the primary stage, to study a regional language, i.e. a language other than their own, but not so, if they are given an option in this respect.[12] Subject to constitutional restraints, the Court would not interfere with the Government's formulation of its language policy and implementation thereof.[13]

The medium of instruction in primary education was also considered by the Constitution of India. In a case the Supreme Court held that Article 351 does not confer on any citizen a right to compel an educational institution to impart education in Hindi.[14]

Education originally was under the State list (list – II) and by the Constitution *42nd Amendment) Act, 1976, transferred to List III of the Seventh Schedule in the Entry 25 of the List III. As a result no part of the subject of education now belongs to the exclusive State List.

Part – II: Administrative Devolution

The Constitutional provisions for free and compulsory primary education could not bring about much headway in the imparting of elementary education in practice. The roots of the system of education prevailing in the state of Tamilnadu lies some where prior to the Constitution of India. Before the advent of the British in India, education was considered as a private affair. Upto 1813, the East India Company did not recognize the promotion of the education among the natives of India. The Governor of Madras Province, Sir Thomas Munro, was responsible to establish the Board of Public Instruction in 1826, which should be considered as the education department. Wood's dispatch on education in 1854 laid the foundation on which the educational system has since developed. In accordance with the recommendations of the dispatch, the Madras provincial government established a Department of Public Instruction in the state. The rules and regulations were designed to assist the indigenous institutions to improve themselves and to give some assistance. The first set of grants for aided schools was issued in 1855. By 1881, a considerable portion of the indigenous institutions had become aided schools and thus they moved from the category of private to public schools.

Under the Local Boards Act,1871, Local Boards were constituted and empowered to open schools and get subsidy from the government. The Madras Elementary Education Act,1920 enabled the local bodies to levy an educational cess on land or property tax for advancement of elementary education. In 1920 elementary education was taken from District Boards and entrusted to Taluk Boards and Municipalities and the power of according recognition to aided elementary schools was transferred from the Education Department to the District Education Councils. In 1934, the Taluk Boards were abolished and elementary schools administration was entrusted again to the District Boards. In 1939, district Education Councils were also abolished and the power to recognize elementary schools was restored once again to the Education Department.

History of School Education in Tamil Nadu

Mile Stones	Year
Board of Public Instruction Established	1826
First High School opened in Madras	1841
High Schools for Girls Opened	1849
Directorate of Public Instruction Established	1854
Madras Education Rules Enforced	1892
Board of Secondary Education established	1910
SSLC Public Examination conducted for the first time	1911
Madras Elementary Educational Rules Enforced	1921
Compulsory and Free Education introduced in some selected Places	1924
Directorate of Legal studies Established	1953
Pension scheme for Teachers Introduced	1955
Mid day meal prgramme implemented	1956
Directorate of Technical Education established	1957
Scheme for Free supply of Uniforms for School children organized	1960
Introduction of Free education up to High School level	1964
Directorate of Collegiate Education Established	1965
Tamil Nadu Text Book Society established	1969
Directorate of Public Libraries established	1972
Directorate of Government Examinations and SCERT established	1973
Directorate of Non-formal and Adult Education Established	1976
Higher Secondary Education (10 + 2) introduced	1978
Teachers in Panchayat Union Schools become Government Employees	1981
Nutritious Meal Scheme introduced	1982
Free supply of Text Books and Uniforms up to VIII standard extended	1985
Directorate of Elementary Education established. Implementation of National Policy on Education, Teachers in Municipal / Township / Corporation become Government employees.	1986

Introduction of revised syllabus based on National Policy for I- IX standards.

At present the school education including the primary education, is governed by the various acts and rules and regulations.

- Tamil Nadu Elementary Education Act, 1920(Repealed in 1998)
- TamilNadu Recognized Private Schools (regulation) Act,1973
- Tamil Nadu Recognized Private Schools (Regulation) Rules, 1974
- Tamil Nadu Compulsory Elementary Education Act,1994

Rules :

- Tamil Nadu Education Rules, 1892
- Code of Regulation for Nursery and Primary Schools
- Code of Regulation for Matriculation Schools
- Code of Regulation for Anglo- Indian Schools
- Grant – in – Aid Code, 1956 (Inspection Code)

The Teachers and other staff of elementary education are governed by the elementary Education subordinate service Rules and Tamil Nadu Ministerial Service Rules, Tamil nadu General subordinate Service Rules, Tamil nadu General Service Rules and Tamil Nadu Basic service Rules. The impact of administrative devolution with regard to primary education is the important indicator of literates and illiterates in the society. The literacy trend in the state of Tamil Nadu in comparison with the Nation as a whole appears that the state is much ahead of national average.

Year	All India Literacy (%)			Tamil Nadu Literacy(%)		
	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person
1901	9.80	0.60	5.30	14.10	1.00	7.60
1911	10.60	1.10	5.90	17.10	1.50	9.20
1921	12.20	1.80	7.20	18.60	2.40	1040
1931	15.60	2.90	9.50	20.00	2.90	11.30
1941	24.90	7.30	16.10	25.60	6.90	16.20
1951	27.16	8.86	18.33	31.70	10.10	20.80
1961	40.40	15.34	28.31	44.50	18.20	31.40
1971	45.95	21.97	34.45	51.80	26.90	39.50
1981	56.37	29.75	43.56	68.00	40.40	54.40
1991	——	——	52.21	——	——	62.70
2001	64.13	39.29	65.38	73.70	51.30	73.47

Source : Census of India : Tamil Nadu 2001

The number of children enrolled in the primary stage in the school going age in the state of Tamil Nadu during year 2002 to 2003 also shows a higher per centage. The enrolment of boys and girls at the primary stage is almost 100 percent in the state of Tamil Nadu, but there is decline in the enrolment at the next stage that is from 11-14 years of age.

School age children and enrollment 2002-2003

Age Group	Sex	School age Children (in lakhs)	Enrolment (in lakhs)	Per centage of enrolment
6-11	Boys	32.85	32.51	98.96
	Girls	30.75	30.41	98.89
	Total	63.60	62.92	98.93
11-14	Boys	19.25	18.54	96.31
	Girls	18.33	17.31	94.43
	Total	37.58	35.85	95.40
14-16	Boys	12.61	8.84	70.10
	Girls	12.08	8.43	69.78
	Total	24.69	17.27	69.95
16-18	Boys	12.21	4.85	39.72
	Girls	12.26	4.74	38.66
	Total	24.47	9.59	39.19

Source : Department

Number of Schools, Enrolment Teachers position 2002-2003

Type of Schools	Management	Number of Schools	Students Enrolment (in lakhs)	No. of Teachers	Teacher	
					Male	Female
Primary Schools	Government	1598	1.93	6820		
	Municipal/ Corporation	1015	1.90	6831		
	Panchayat Union	23613	25.20	77948		
	Private	**5252**	**11.80**	**28925**		
	Total	**31678**	**40.83**	**120524**	**43389**	**77135**

Source : Department of School Education, Chennai

In addition to the government institutions, the Non-governmental organizations play an important role in imparting education. The Christian Missionaries are the biggest voluntary organizations managing educational institutions in Tamil Nadu. The Church of South India(CSI), Roman Catholic Diocese(R.C .mission) and Tamil Nadu Evangelical Lutheran Church(TELC), R.K Mission, the organization of Muslim educational institutors and various welfare associations and educational trusts are also running schools.

Drop out rates in Schools in Tamil Nadu at Primary School Stage

Year	Primary Stage 6-11			Middle Stage 11-14		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1991-92	17.71	21.16	19.31	37.48	46.50	41.67
1991-93	17.11	19.62	18.27	34.75	43.54	38.85
1993-94	16.39	18.35	17.30	32.16	41.20	36.85
1994-95	15.58	17.65	16.54	30.75	39.36	34.74
1995-96	14.88	16.97	15.85	28.60	37.11	32.54
1996-97	14.05	16.20	15.06	26.38	34.78	30.27
1997-98	13.99	16.18	15.05	25.94	34.64	29.99
1998-99	12.98	16.15	14.52	36.85	33.37	35.23
1999-2000	12.93	16.07	14.41	36.03	34.74	35.43
2000-2001	12.86	16.03	14.40	36.00	35.15	35.59
2001-2002	12.73	15.95	14.31	35.46	34.53	35.07
2002-2003	12.20	15.50	13.85	34.30	29.99	32.10

Source : Department of School Education, Chennai.

Educational Institutions in the State shows more number of primary schools than other schools. The number of students and number schools from primary school level to elementary school level dropped suddenly to half. The dropouts from these schools are the children the important concern.

Category	Total Number	Total Enrolment	Number of Teachers	Teacher-Student Ratio
Pre Primary School	984	165718	115739	—
Primary School(6-11)	30844	6669704	115739	39
Elementary School(11-14)	5538	3593865	61719	40
Secondary Education	4208	1547904	47212	43
Senior Secondary School	3149	714351	92301	39

Part- III Concerns and Issues

As far as the Primary education in the state of Tamil Nadu, the state was able to show 100 per cent enrolment of children at the primary schools. The Drop out rates are also very high when compared to other stages of schooling. This is an important concern to the society. The hypothesis is if the children are drawn to the labour market and also if in the social composition of the primary school drop outs skewed towards the socially and educationally disadvantaged sections of the society, it is matter for concern. The dropout rates among the girls was very high. Among the southern states the AP exceeded the national average and the State of Tamil Nadu comes second.

Female School Drop out Rates at Primary and Elementary level

State	Droup out Rate among Girls at	
	Primary(I-V)	Elementary I-VIII
Andhra Pradesh	42.22	68.23
Karnataka	18.45	53.55
Kerala*	-5.98	-9.7
Tamil Nadu	31.72	32.41
India	41.90	57.95

*Dropout Rates are Negative due to Migration . New Entrants in Intermediate classes.

Another important matter of concern to the society is the number of children out of school in the school going age. Among the southern states, a

higher proportion of children in the school going age are out school in Andhra Predesh and next comes Karnataka. The State of Tamil Nadu assumed third place.

Children Enrolled and out of school

State	Child Population Project 6-14 years	Number of Children Enrolled	Number of children out of school
Andhra Pradesh	14207000	11729305	24776795
Karnataka	9508000	9414495	93505
Kerala	4758000	4382897	375103
Tamil Nadu	9608000	9260935	347065
India	191997000	156636983	35360017

Source : Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No. 1908, Dated 10-3-2003.

The State of Tamil Nadu enacted the Tamil Nadu Compulsory Elementary education Act in 1994 with objective of providing elementary education with out much gap. The statistics on the primary school education and elementary education shows the lacuna in the school education system. It is widely acknowledged that a significant proportion of children either drop out before they reach class V or even if they continue to attend school, learn very little. This phenomenon is more pronounced among children from the most disadvantaged sections of society, most of them rely on governmental primary school system. And another issue corollary to this is the wide gap in learning achievements between government schools and (rural and urban) and private and aided schools.[15]

The reasons for large scale dropouts from the schools at the primary stage directly related to child labour. Many more girls are being pulled out of school in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh, particularly after class VI or VII to work as wage labour in farms and in family enterprises.[16] Studies have shown that enrolling in primary schooling is not an important issue, but the major issue is completion of the primary schooling and getting into higher levels of schooling. The main motivating factors are family environment, community encouragement, and other services, such as health care, sanitation, water transport etc.[17] It is also important the children hailing from the urban slums and also other socially disadvantage sections of the society, have role model for their inspiration to continue in the formal school system.

The Constitution of India's stipulation of free and compulsory education

for all with a time limit of ten years from the inauguration of the Constitution, seems to be not operative and which is also could not enforceable through the court of law. The State of Tamil Nadu, in their part taken effort to cover various of primary schooling in terms of physical access to schooling and also nutritional requirements of children out of poverty by introducing Noon meal scheme to the school children and also to the children of the pre primary stage. However the best efforts of the Government of Tamil Nadu, the issue remains to be addressed. The child labour and the resultant growing group of demoralized / disillusioned youngsters who may have either completed primary schooling or dropped out, who are under employed or have no employment or productive work, act as a disincentive for education of other children and their family and Community.[18] Universalization of Primary education needs strong community support and initiatives not only from the government but also from Non-Governmental organizations.

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13

Social Welfare Programmes in Tamil Nadu

DR.C. GNANAPRAGASAM

The concept of well being is explained in the Webster dictionary as a state of being happy, healthy or prosperous, well to do. Another meaning is stated as welfare. The word welfare is itself defined as a state of being happy; and, secondly, as relief, aid of money or necessities for those in need. The word social welfare is somewhat different. It's meaning is given as assistance of disadvantaged groups through public or private social services. On the eve of Independence of India in August 1947, first Prime Minister, Nehru, pledged to get millions of its poor rid of their sufferings by ending poverty, ignorance, disease and inequality of opportunity. This objective of ensuring welfare of the people was to be achieved within a democratic framework of polity with a mixed-economy model of development in which the state and a large infrastructures public sector was to participate as the key actor not only in regulating, protecting and promoting certain specific economic and social activities but also in production and distribution in some sectors of economy. A welfare ethos was reflected in various constitutional provisions, such as, in the Directive Principles of State Policy, Fundamental Rights with arrangements for 'protective discrimination' in favour of certain marginalized and vulnerable sections of society and in various policy interventions made from time to time by different branches of government at central and state level. In short, economic growth with social justice was the most pronounced objective that was supposed to translate the promise for a better future into practice.[1]

The inbuilt character of Asian values especially in Indian Society is the special concern for the poorest, disabled. The early Vedic society, Dharma is the edifice of all values inculcated for mankind. Later on, the philanthropic activities were made in the name of welfare. Philanthropy and humanism

were not as such today well delineated. The kings used to offer enormous gifts and other things for the poor and the needy on occasion of auspicious days and his personal significant days as birthday, coronation day, wedding day etc. The mindset is developed to remove poverty among the poor.

Moreover, it is the built character of human beings in general and Indians particular that trust and not contract as the basis of social relationship. According to Maslow, self-esteem of human beings is tinkered in the mind after fulfilling all the needs. The rich or cream layer of society offer services to the needy people and imprinted their name in the minds of the people. There are so many trusts and endowments were created and offer services to the people. These were individual in nature and there was a belief also that the soul will attain mukthi (renounciation) if one does services to the people. Another major area of our attention is that self-respect of the people also maintained in tact by the people. If the trust is only for poor, no other people will exploit it, it will serve remains only to the poor. These values were gradually erodes due to the explosion of population and democracy.

Indian Democracy is nothing but the achievement of 2/3 illiterate and 1/3 below poverty line people. These people want to share the administration to minimize literacy and reduce poverty line. The rulers from 1950 to the present hesitate to enact the provision of compulsory free elementary education, if it had been passed in 1950 or 1980, literacy level would have been reached to 80 to 90 percent now. Education is the only durable factor to solve all the problems of all these times. But we are taking steps to improve the literacy level in a snails pace.[2]

To remove poverty, Government has taken full efforts by launching so many development programmes. In fact, Development programmes themselves named as poverty alleviation programmes. Alleviating most structural poverty more than a quarter of India's total population is a daunting task without which no scheme of welfare can be meaningful. Of course, poverty of this proportion must be addressed as a national issue and most of the redistribution programs have to be financed through national transfers, the participation of the community at the grass-root level can emerge as an effective means of enabling the poor to expand their income-earning potential. In addition to the economic growth that creates more resources, which in turn creates opportunities in the form of productive employment for the poor, direct poverty alleviation programs are needed to raise the income and purchasing power of the poor. Since the Sixth Five Year Plan, the Government of India introduced several of such programs, like, Integrated Rural Development Program (IRDP),

Wage Employment Programs (e.g., public works) and Jawahar Rojgar Yojana (JRY), Public Distribution System (PDS) and nutrition programs. The emphasis in these Five Year Plans (currently the Ninth Five Year Plan is under way) has been on more active role for voluntary organizations so as to make the communities more self-reliant and to bring the underutilized indigenous resources, rural skills and local knowledge in full use.[3] But, an empirical evaluation of these anti-poverty programs reveals that even the large amount of investment in these programs had only a modest effect on either poverty or development. Among other factors, like, coverage of the non-poor in these programs, low effectiveness and regional variations, one main reason for this has been- lack of people's participation and therefore a need was felt of involving Panchayats, NGOs, SHGs, community based organizations and cooperatives so as to strengthen the government-supported programs.

The Government has committed to the welfare concept. Many programmes were designed and implemented from time to time. The following are some of the programmes implemented in Tamilnadu,

Firka Development programmes, Community Development Scheme, Free Cycle Richashaw, Welfare Programmes for Handicapped, Women Maternity Scheme, Free Midday Meals, Free Nutrious Food Programme, Free Uniform for School Children, Free Shoes for the School Children, Free Tooth Paste Scheme, Poor Women Marriage Scheme, Cradle Baby Scheme, Free Electricity to the Farmers, Free buspass to the students, Self sufficiency scheme, Housing Scheme for the downtrodden, Ulavur Sandhai, Namaku Name Scheme, Samathana Puram Scheme, Annathanam, Integrated Rural Development Scheme and Self Help Groups.

They are really served to the people but at the same time, the span of programmes and the mode of implementation etc were not yielded the desired results. These are not the capital intensive projects. These programmes were monitored by the Government from time to time and made changes according to the circumstances. These programmes also criticized as populist programmes.

The welfare programmes are always designed by the political parties in their manifestoes and seek mobilization of support in the election. The culture of 'Free Scheme 'mentioned by the DMK party in 1957 Election Manifesto about free education up to 10th Std .It is the starting point for free distribution of service. The DMK government in 1967&1971 implemented free education initially up to Pre-University level and then up to Degree. Meanwhile the Congress Government had implemented free education up to

10th standard from 1963. Free power supply to the huts and free power supply to pump sets of the small farmers. Another free distribution is tooth powder to the students. This scheme had been implemented from 4.11.1984. A Book scheme was started on 1.10.1984, which provided Textbooks to the students at the primary level. Poor school children were protected under this free distribution scheme. Free notebooks and slates were distributed in 15.9.1985 in the age group of 1 to 3.The free distribution of uniforms to the school children also added in this scheme. Free bus passes were offered to the school children.

The Nutritious Midday Meal Scheme is the more accepted popular scheme. The scheme was started on 1.7.82. Initially in the rural areas and then it has extended to urban areas from 15.9.82. There were controversies regarding the Programme. Some of them opined the programme was modelled on the Kamaraj Midday Meal Scheme and some say it is the Thiagaraya Model. But it has enjoyed utmost support among the people. The scheme is a novel one. Even though it was labeled as a Government Scheme it was implemented without expense to the state exchequer. This scheme was fully financed by donation or on voluntary basis. The enrolment of students got increased, provided employment opportunities and dropouts were reduced. The free distribution of essential items, waiving of Government loans, concessions to the weaker sections etc have occupied a predominant place in the manifestoes.

The Government also adequately protected the babies from 6 months to 2 years by offering the Nutritious food. The Nutritious coverage extends to the pregnant women from 8 months onwards. These programmes have been implemented from 1991-92. The 1994-95 budget provided an amount of Rs.75 per month for four months totalling Rs.300 for every pregnant woman below the poverty line. It is to compensate the loss of wages during the pregnant period and ensure the Nutritious food in the nearest Nutritious Noon Meal Center for a period of four months. This scheme will benefit about 2 lakhs pregnant women each year.

Social Welfare Programmes

Nutrition for the aged, expectant mothers and children.

Primary health care and medical services for the poor

Universal Elementary education

Employment Programmes for the poor

Essential drinking water

Shelter for the homeless

Social Security programmes, and

Special programme for the weaker section

Family Distress Relief Scheme provides a relief amount of Rs.5000 in the event of the death of the breadwinner. About 50,000 beneficiaries are covered annually. The Government has decided to introduce a new Child Support Scheme to help these families. Immediately after the death of the breadwinner, the family is given the lump sum support of Rs.5000; a monthly support of Rs.50 will be extended to one child in the family.

In Tamil Nadu, Firka Development programmes, community Development programmes and self-sufficiency programmes were designed to provide services in an integrated manner. Thereafter a wave of individuals was entertained to step into the process of development by schemes like Integrated Rural Development schemes. The problems of benefits in these schemes were not up to the mark. So now they switched over from individual to Group approach. Today, the development is through self-help Groups in the areas of Social, political, economic and individual level.

There are two grey areas in development. One is propagating individual leaders name in the development programmes and the allegation of corruption in the development programmes. These are virus in the development process. The pity in democracy is contractors laying roads in rural areas are pictured as owners of the roads. If we allow this sentiment in democracy, the process of globalization and privatization would lead to Zamindari system. In a larger democracy, voters decide democracy, political parties decide voters. So the populism is mandated to power.

However, a look at the economic performance of India since Independence shows that there has been a slow but steady economic growth with the net domestic product (NDP) growing at an annual rate of 3.6 percent per annum. With population growing at about 2.2 percent per annum since 1960s, this meant per capita income increases of about 1.5 percent per annum (Dandekar, 1988). It is hardly surprising that the modest growth performance in past years has made little dent on the endemic poverty of Indian masses, more than a quarter of whose total population still continues to live below poverty line, much of the poverty being rural. There has been an endless debate amongst Indian economists about whether growth can be expected to 'trickle down', some expressing their firm belief that it cannot while other maintaining that it can only if the growth rate is higher which is possible only through markets.

Whatever the fact, the truth for India remained that the growth, whatever little, was not of much help in alleviating poverty and therefore, a strategy to directly attack poverty through various ambitious and comprehensive programs was adopted since 1970 onwards. These programs were either state-sponsored or were getting substantial and direct financial support from it. State expenditure on social policy areas, along with education and primary health, largely included subsidies in food and agriculture. But, an assessment of the welfare policies of Indian state reveals the fact that neither the extent of expenditure nor the number of population covered by the state sponsored schemes could make a significant difference in the lives of millions of Indian poor.

Despite planned development and vast public expenditure on welfare, the fact is, as a recent World Bank Report also noted, that out of more than one billion poor people living in the developing countries, 420 million are in India alone of which 80% are rural poor and more than a quarter of its population lives below poverty line. Add to this the poor state of health care with 135 million people having no access to basic health facilities, 226 million people having no access to safe drinking water and over 100 million lacking basic sanitation facilities.

Leslie Sawhney Programme in 1982 has clearly revealed that the emergence of new class of vested interest in the bureaucrats, politicians, businessmen and Union leaders. Together they were described as constituting in a bourgeous centralized set up a "grand alliance" contributing to the escalation of cost without the community as a whole being in any way benefited by the public programmes. On the other hand the administration helps to publicize the developmental programmes of the Government. These programmes are sometimes portrayed in the name of the personality rather than the Government. People may be confused sometimes to identify whether it is a government programme or an individual's one.

To come out of this situation, the advocates of economic reforms, influenced by the impact of economic globalization, saw economic liberalization and public disinvestments in economic liberalization and public disinvestments in economic and social sector as essential both for growth and human development. Consequently, attempts at liberalization began when a crisis of rising fiscal deficit occurred in 1991 and various measures for structural adjustment were taken to dismantle the 'Permit Raj'. As a result of this, a number of significant changes were noticed, such as, easing of the system of industrial licensing and import controls, encouragement to direct

foreign investment and partial public disinvestments in certain core sectors. Though these partial reform measures gave a lift to economy, boosted productivity, helped in bringing down the poverty rates to some extent as the per capita growth rates rose during the short period of stabilization, its effect on social sector and on the state of welfare in India has become a matter of concern with some even arguing for the establishment of a Western style welfare state.

The following are the major social welfare activities of Government of Tamil Nadu:[4]

I)

1.	Name of the scheme	: Moovalur Ramamirtham Ammiyar Ninaivu Thirumana Nidhi Udhavi Thittam
2.	Objectives of the scheme	: To help financially the parents of poor girls in getting their daughter married
3.	Assistance provided	: Rs.10,000 (By Cheque/D.D.)
4.	To whom the benefit is due	: To the parents of poor girls

II)

1.	Name of the scheme	: Orphan Girls Marriage Assistance Scheme (Financial Assistance to the marriage of Orphan girls)
2.	Objectives of the scheme	: To help financially the orphan girls in their marriage.
3.	Assistance provided	: Rs.3000 (By Cheque/D.D)
4.	To whom the benefit is due	: To the orphan girls.

III)

1.	Name of the scheme	: Anjugam Ammaiyar Ninaivu Kalappu Thirumana Udavi Thittam (Intercaste Marriage Assistance Scheme)
2.	Objectives of the scheme	: To encourage inter caste marriage
3.	Assistance provided	: a) Rs.10000/- (Rs.7000 as NSC and Rs.3000 as Cheque) b) Rs.20000/- (Rs.10000 as NSC and Rs.10000 as Cheque) in case One of the spouse belongs to SC/ST.

4.	To whom the benefit is due	:	To the couple who have married in other caste, one of them belonging to a caste being regarded as lower caste in the society.

IV)

1.	Name of the scheme	:	Dr. Dharmambal Ammaiyar Thirumana Nidhi Udavi Thittam (Widow Remarriage Scheme)
2.	Objectives of the scheme	:	To encourage widow remarriage and to uplift the status of women in society.
3.	Assistance provided	:	Rs.7000 (Rs.5000 as NSC and Rs.2000 as cheque)
4.	To whom the benefit is due	:	To the married couple.

V)

1.	Name of the scheme	:	Widow's Daughters Marriage Assistance Scheme (Financial assistance to marriage of poor widow's daughters)
2.	Objectives of the scheme	:	To help the poor mothers who are widows by providing financial assistance for the marriage of their daughters.
3.	Assistance provided	:	Rs.3000/- by cheque
4.	To whom the benefit is due	:	Only one daughter of poor widow

VI)

1.	Name of the scheme	:	Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy Ammaiyar Ninaivu Mahaperu Udavi Thittam.
2.	Objectives of the scheme	:	To compensate for their wage loss during confinement and to supplement their nutritional needs.
3.	Assistance provided	:	Rs.125 per month for 2 months before delivery and for 2 months after delivery and providing noon meal
4.	To whom the benefit is due	:	Pregnant Mothers

VII)

1.	Name of the scheme	: Free supply sewing machine
2.	Objectives of the scheme	: To raise the economic status of women.
3.	Assistance provided	: Sewing Machines
4.	To whom the benefit is due	: Destitute women, widows and Physically Handicapped Men

VIII)

1.	Name of the scheme	: Women Training cum Production Centre (41 Tailoring Centres, 4 Palm Leaf Training Centres, 2 Cumbly Weaving Production Centres, 1 Bamboo Handicrafts Training Centre, 1 Chalk Crayon Production Centre 2 Candle Production Centre, 1 Doll making Unit)
2.	Objectives of the scheme	: To enhance the status of women by making them economically independent.
3.	Assistance provided	: Training along with Rs.50 as stipend.
4.	To whom the benefit is due	: Poor Women

IX)

1.	Name of the scheme	: Co-operative Societies of women (79 Women Tailoring Societies, 38 Footwear Societies, 20 Stationery Societies, 2 Liquid Soap Societies, 1 Prawn pickles Society, 28 Supplementary Food Societies)
2.	Objectives of the scheme	: To enhance the status of women by improving their technical skills and thereby making them economically independent.
3.	Assistance provided	: Training and self employment to women.
4.	To whom the benefit is due	: To the poor, deserted, destitute, widow women.

X)

1.	Name of the scheme	: Service Home
2.	Objectives of the scheme	: To provide food, shelter to deserted, destitute widow, poor orphan women and their children and to raise their economic status through education, vocational training and employment avenues.
3.	Assistance provided	: Shelter, educational opportunities, vocational training and self employment.
4.	To whom the benefit is due	: Poor orphan, destitutes, deserted, widows

Puratchi Thalaivar MGR Nutritious Meal Programme

Government of Tamil Nadu have formulated various schemes to improve the health and nutritional status of children and to develop their mental and physical ability.

Puratchi Thalaivar MGR Nutritious Meal Programme was introduced with effect from 1.7.1982, in Child Welfare Centres in rural areas for pre-school children in the age group of 2-5 years and for primary school children in the age group of 5-9 years. Subsequently, this scheme was extended to the Nutritious Meal Centres in urban areas from 15.09.1982 onwards. From 15.9.1984 onwards this scheme was further extended to the school students of 10-15 years of age. Old age pensioners have been included in the scheme with effect from 15.1.1983 and pregnant women are also benefited under this scheme with effect from 07.12.1995.

The main objective of the scheme is to provide adequate nutrition to economically disadvantaged children, which seeks to:

1. Combat malnutrition among the children
2. Increase literacy rate of the children
3. Act as a potent incentive for increasing the enrolment and reducing dropouts.

National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education:

The National Programme of Nutritional support to primary education was launched in Tamil Nadu on 15.8.1995.

Under this programme, the Government of India, Ministry of Human Resources Development is supplying free rice to provide nutritional support to primary school children studying in I to V Std at the rate of 100 gms per child per day for 10 months in an academic year. As there is already a good infrastructure available under PT MGR NMP, the rice allotted under this scheme is converted into cooked food and supplied to children.

Objectives

The specific objectives of the World Bank assisted ICDS III Project and General ICDS are:

a) To improve the Nutrition, Health and Psycho - Social status of children in 0-6 years of age with particular emphasis on preventing malnutrition in under 3 years of age and improve child care practices at the household level.

b) To improve the Nutrition & Health status of Women particularly pregnant and lactating mothers and Adolescent girls

c) To Empower Women and Adolescent girls through increased awareness to take better care of their personal and household Health and Nutrition issues, and

d) To make "Tamil Nadu Malnutrition free" and to provide a Whole Life Cycle Nutrition Security Programme for those below poverty line with special focus on nutrition for expectant mothers, infants, adolescents and the aged.

Udisha Training

Under World Bank allotment through Government of India, Job training, refresher training and Orientation trainings to workers, helpers and supervisors are planned to be organized. The cost of Training Programme is Rs.25.41 Crores for a period of 5 years.

The following training programmes are under progress at a cost of Rs.8.96 Crores.

e) Community based Nutrition strategy training programmes for functionaries and community.

f) Disability Management Training to Supervisors.

g) Training on convergence.

h) Intersectoral joint training for Health and Nutrition functionaries.

i) Training for adolescent girls.

j) Gender Sensitization training for Project functionaries and Community.

k) Clinical Management Training based on Life Cycle Approach for the Medical Officers.

Pradhan Mandri Gramodhaya Yojana

The Pradhan Mandri Gramodhaya Yojana Scheme was launched by the Government of India during the year 2000-2001 with the objective of achieving sustainable human development at the village level and it is continued.

Under this Programme, Supplementation is given to the children in the age group of 6 months to 36 months, covering 30125 Anganwadi Centres in rural and urban ICDS Projects, and also in the uncovered / unreached hamlets.

During the year 2003-2004, a sum of Rs. 25.00 crores is allocated.

Provision of 6 Kgs of Rice Free of Cost to Under-Nourished Pregnant and Lactating mothers and adolescent Girls.

Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (General)

Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (General) is implemented from the year 1975. Now it has been expanded to 116 projects covering 67 projects in rural area, 47 projects in urban area and 2 projects in tribal area with 10625 Anganwadi Centres.

Kishori Shakti Yojana – Adolescent Girls Scheme

The Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women Limited - Mahalir Thittam

Wasteland Rejuvenation & Micro-Watershed Development

Convergence with Tamil Nadu Afforestation Project (Tap) and Tamilnadu Women in Agriculture (Tanwa) Project - Literacy for Women

Rehabilitation of Bootleggers Through SHGs.

Entrepreneurship Development Programme (EDP)

Vocational Training Programmes (VTP)

Total Economic Development Project for Theni & Perambalur Districts

District Level Training - Cum - Marketing Centres

Free LPG Scheme to Newly Married Couples

Training for Social Welfare Department Staff & ICDS Staff

Formation of Panchayat Level Federation (PLF)

Formation of PLFs in all the 12,619 Panchayat will be completed during the year 2003-2004. In order to sustain the SHG movement in the State, so far 7,000 PLFs have been formed. Further action to cover the remaining will be taken up during the year. Ward Level Federation (WLF) in the Urban areas will also be formed.

Mahalir Mandrams/Mathar Sangams are being integrated into the Self Help Groups.

The problem of welfare administration is today at stake. one school of thought thinks the high level of expenditure on 'unproductive' social programme caused economic debacle. Another school of thought says the weaker among them no longer accept their disadvantaged position and expect the state to be 'fair' to them. Most of them do not accept the welfare benefits as benevolence. Rather, they treat them as their basic right. The state might have reduction in subsidies and reduction in regulation, yet the welfare role of the state has not diminished substantially. In USA local government services were transferred to private sector but the performance were not encouraging.[5] After an evaluation the services rendered by the private restored to the local bodies. In Tamil Nadu social welfare activities are going on smoothly.

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14

Policy of Reservation : The Need for Review

DR. A.THANIKODI

Introduction

In a welfare state, the state's obligation is to take care of the well being of each and every individual. One of the social policies employed to uplift (if not to attain equality) the socially, economically backward classes is the reservation policy which aims at reducing the gap in social disparity. It is the constitutional duty and explicit responsibility of the state to get social justice to the under privilleged. In the Supreme Court Judgement on Mandal Case Justice Ratinavel Pandian said 'the power conferred on the state under Article 16(4) is one coupled with a duty and therefore, the state has to exercise that power for the benefit of all these, namely, backward classes 'for whom it is intended'.

Right to reservation is also to be considered as a part of the fundamental rights guaranteed to the socially, economically suppressed, oppressed, deprived and historically disadvantaged people of India. Article 46 of the Directive Principles of State Policy also aims at the same. So, it is not an act of charity or concession rather it should be regarded as an act of social justice. Oxford Dictionary defined the role of welfare state as "a policy so organized that every member of the community is assured of his due maintenance, with the most advantageous conditions possible for all". So, the reservation policy tries to create "the most advantageous conditions possible for the SCs, STs and SEB classes in order to integrate them into mainstream and to protect their due share and opportunities.

Even before India's independence, there were many controversies involved in the reservation policy. Verdicts of many High Courts and the

Supreme Court over the years further complicated this issue. Some say that it is to achieve the social justice and to establish an egalitarian society and viewed this policy as positive or compensatory or protective discrimination. Others feel that it is a legalised discrimination and reverse discrimination and will lead to revitalise and polarise the caste system. They also argue that it leads to inefficiency. In this context this paper makes an attempt to analyse the issues involved in the policy of reservation. This paper also puts some suggestions to review the existing system of reservation.

The necessity of creating reservation has its roots firmly fixed in the caste system. The peculiar discriminatory caste system in India led to the growth of only a section of the society dominating the rest of the populace by depriving them of economic opportunities and equal privileges. For ages, the lower castes were kept under economic exploitation and it contributed to their backwardness[1].

Hence, the suppressed, oppressed and depressed wanted to get their share in educational, political and governmental machineries to achieve "Social Justice". The "Social Justice" is based on equality, liberty and fraternity [2].

Reservation is done at three levels viz., in the legislatures, government services and in educational institutions. Since the inception of our constitution there were a number of controversies involving the reservation issue that rocked the country.

The constitutional provisions for reservation, understood as a package of protective, preferential and developmental practices, are intended to create conditions for the social advancement of the historically disadvantaged groups, their integration into mainstream society, and participation in its opportunity structure on equal terms with the advanced groups.

History of the Reservation

Many people think that reservation for SCs, STs, and OBCs is an act of charity. It is not. History of Reservation goes back to 1854 when the Board of Revenue circular to District Collectors were issued in Tamil Nadu. The British created disunity among the Muslims and the Hindus through the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909, by granting separate electorates to the Muslims. Thus, seats were reserved for them as a community. Similarly, the 1919 Montague - Chelmsford Reforms continued to maintain separate electorates for the Muslims. Later, it was extended to other minority communities like Christians, Sikhs and Anglo -Indians. Thus, politics of reservation originated during the British Raj itself, with reservation of seats for various communities.

It was Dr. B.R.Ambedkar who fought for separate electorates for SCs and STs at the Round Table Conferences in London during 1930 -32, as a measure to protect them from tyranny, oppression and exploitation. British Prime Minister Ramsay Mc Donald announced the 'Communal Award' on Aug. 17, 1932 granting separate electorates for SCs and STs. Gandhi was against the Communal Award. Dr. Ambedkar and Gandhi signed the Poona Pact on Sep 24, 1932. This pact guaranteed the social, political, educational and economic development of SCs and STs and assured them participation in the administration of the country at all levels.

Accordingly, provisions were enshrined in the Government of India Act 1935 and later they became part of the constitution of India. It is therefore, evident that reservation for SCs and STs is a hard won and legally received right. Had the Poona Pact not come into existence, perhaps the destiny of these communities would have been different[3].

Lord Simon made the startling announcement that the Constituent Assembly sitting in Delhi consists of only caste Hindus. Though Cabinet Mission didn't say anything about the depressed classes, subsequent debates in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords stressed on the importance of providing safeguards for the depressed classes as a minority [4].

P.R. Thakur, from Bengal who said: "In this big august House of the Constituent Assembly, we belonging to the depressed, are very few in number, but in the country as a whole our population is 60 millions. They want representation on a population basis in the Legislatures in the centre, provinces and the states"[5].

In this regard Dr. S.Radhakrishnan said: " It is essential for any constitution which is drawn up to make all the citizens realize that their basic privileges - education, social and economic are afforded to them. That it will be a constitution which will be democratic in the true sense of the term, where from political freedom we will march on to economic freedom and equity'.[6]

Another member of the constituent assembly pleaded that " whatever Constitution may be framed for this great continent that the right place for the Harijans is given... You will see that all the disabilities of the Harijans are taken care of and remedied in a manner that they may enjoy equal privileges in this great country[7]. So it is seen that most of the discussion in the Constituent Assembly were confined to providing special treatments to SC & STs only rather than OBCs.

When the Constitution of India came into effect in 1950, all the castes listed as 'Scheduled Castes' under the Act of 1935 were incorporated for special treatments such as reservation of seats in the Loksabha and other local bodies and also reservation of seats in government jobs and in educational institutions. Thus the reservation was constitutionalised.

Constitutional Safeguards

The Indian constitution aims at establishing a casteless society. It contains many special provisions (Articles 15(4), 16 (4), 46, 164,275,330,332,334,340 -2 etc.,) for the protection of interests of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes.

Both caste and poverty are axed to determine the backwardness of citizens[8]. Thus, "the social backwardness" of the communities, has been determined in a manner which is not permissible under Article 15 (4). The "social backwardness" which results from poverty is likely to be aggravated by "considerations of caste". Hence, the courts have read the qualifying words, "socially and educationally" in Article 15(a) as an implicit explanation to Article 16(a)which is distinctive. Article 16(4) permits reservation infavour of any "backwardness of citizens which in the opinion of the state is not adequately represented in the services under the state". Hence, the court concludes that there are two distinct conditions for the application of Article 16(4): 1. a class of citizens who are backward by the Balaji case tests. 2. And those who lack adequate representation in services[9].

While the justification for reservation is thus self-evident, it is mainly in Article 15(4), on special provision for the advancement of any "socially and educationally backward class of citizens", and Article 16(4), on reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any "backward class of citizens" which, in the opinion of the state, is not adequately represented in its services, that the other Backward Classes (OBCs) figure as a category apart from the SCs and STs.

Under Articles 330 and 332 of the constitution, seats are reserved for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the House of the people and the Legislative Assemblies of the States in proportion to their population. There are 119 reserved seats in the Loksabha: of these, 79 are reserved for the scheduled castes and the rest for the scheduled tribes. Article 331 of the constitution empowers the president to nominate a maximum of two members of the Anglo -Indian community to the Loksabha[10].

The provision in Article 340 for the appointment of a commission to

investigate the conditions of the "socially and educationally backward classes" should mean that it is the task of this commission to identify the OBCs and recommend measures for their social and educational advancement. It is in pursuance of this provision that the Government of India had set up two commissions so far[11].

Kaka Kalelkar Commission

In 1953, Kaka Kalelkar as Chairman, a commission was formed by having 3 principles.

1. To determine the tests by which any particular class or group of people can be called 'backward'
2. To prepare a list of such backward communities for the whole of India.
3. To examine the difficulties of backward classes and to recommend steps to be taken for their amelioration [12].

Kaka Kalelkar commission listed 2,399 communities as backward, with 837 of them as "most backward". For the advancement of these communities, it made several recommendations: 25% jobs in class I, 33.3% jobs in class II, 40% jobs in class III & IV and 70% seats in all technical & professional institutions[13]. One of the members of the commission P,G.Shah said, "If I had a free hand, I would have made economic backwardness, the most important criterion for determination of social backwardness of communities and collected more definite data about it [14].

The list of educationally backward castes reflects the social backwardness[15]. Therefore, the Government of India asked the State Governments to decide the socially and educationally backward classes. This commission submitted its report to the Government in 1955, but the tests recommended by the commission were too vague.

Mandal Commission

In 1979, the second Backward Classes Commission was appointed by Prime Minister Morarji Desai, with B.P. Mandal, former Chief Minister of Bihar as Chairman and other 5 members.

Mandal submitted his report in 1980. The Commission's report did not contain any substantive data on the socio, economic, educational, and occupational conditions of the different castes/communities, but measured in terms of educational attainments, admissions to professional courses, employment in state and central services and educational, economic and occupational background of parents. But it failed to collect basic data on the

population of different castes. The commission has admitted that it's survey has no pretensions of being a piece of academic research. The commission has listed 3,743 castes as OBCs for the benefit of reservation.

When the Mandal Commission submitted its report in December 1980, the Janata party was out of power, and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was unwilling to act on it, because of the fear of incurring the displeasure of vested interests within her party. When Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister, as he admitted latter in an interview, he too avoided "having a ball with Mandal", apparently as a stand against casteism, a stand for the far-fetched constitutional perception of" a classless and casteless society"[16]. In the interview, Rajiv Gandhi had stated that V.P. Singh himself was opposed to the Mandal Report when it first came out during the latter's tenure as the Cong (I) Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh and also when he was a member of the Rajiv Gandhi Cabinet at the Centre.

Implementation of the Recommendations of Mandal Commission

Based on the recommendations of the Mandal Commission, the Government of India passed orders in August 1990 and September 1991 respectively reserving 27% of Central Government jobs for Other Backward Classes (OBCs) and 10% for the economically weaker sections. Though the commission wanted to have 52% reservation for OBCs in proportion with its population, ie. 52% because of judicial limitation it kept the overall percentage of reservation by 50%[17]. In Mandal case the Supreme Court went beyond the prayer sought in the petition. There were absolutely no need to fix the ceiling of reservation as 50%. Highlights of the Nine member Constitutional Bench headed by M.H. Kania, Cheif Justice of India are:

1. While accepting 27 percent of reservation for backward classes the Supreme Court wanted that the better off among the backward classes, called the creamy layer, shall not be adjusted against reservation quota.
2. Backward class candidates recruited on the basis of merit shall not be adjusted against reservation quota.
3. Total reservation should not exceed 50 percent.
4. Reservation should not be applicable to promotion as well as higher administrative, technical, scientific and defense services.
5. The 10 percent reservation for the economically backward of the upper class proposed by Government was then automatically rejected; and
6. The creamy layer will be determined by the National Commission to

be appointed by the Government of India within four months[18].

The court has not itself enumerated the 'backward classes' but has directed the Government to set up a Commission to specify the backward classes, in the light of the principles laid down by the court. Following the recommendations of the commission the Central Government has reserved 27% seats in all recruitment's to be made from 9th September, 1993[19]. The majority rejected the contention of N.A.palkhivala that implementation of the Mandal Commission report would revitalise Casteism, leave the nation into two -forward and backward[20]. The constitution provided for reservation in favour of the backward classes as a transitory arrangement until the goal of socio-economic uplift of the weaker sections is achieved [21].

In the judgement on the Mandal Commission Report, Justice Sawant has observed: "The trinity the goals of the constitution, viz., socialism, secularism and democracy, cannot be realised unless all sections of the society participate in the state power equally"[22].

Trends in Reservation Policy

The founding fathers of the Indian Republic were quite clear that reservation was no boon or charity offered to the communities, but as one of the means of enlisting their loyalty and meaningful participation in the experiment of democracy [23].

Some Scholars have apprehended that far from freezing, reservation would strengthen caste and social divisions, retard social cohesion, and culminate in disaster; some others feared that apart from injecting the caste virus into the body politic, reservation would help only the advanced sections among the backward [24].

According to one statistics that 75 percent of the dalit population still live in the rural areas, over 50 percent among them being landless labourers. Of the remaining 25 percent in the urban areas, a majority are employed as contract or unorganised labour. Out of a total dalit population of about 180 million, a mere 0.8 percent, are employed in government services and public sector due to reservation.

Some people argue that last few years, especially since 1990, India has been taken a regressive turn into backwardness as a direction of the national polity; after nearly 55 years of independence it has the distinction of being one of the poorest and most backward; compensatory discrimination has brought it to compensatory backwardness.

They claim that reservation is unjustified, pernicious, has affected efficiency, and bred corruption[25]. The Central Government issued a G.O in 1993 listing the persons who are coming under the creamy layer. Besides other categories whose annual income exceeded Rs.1 lakh. It is ridiculous that at present even a peon of the Government will cross the annual Income limit. But, recently (Jan. 2004) the National Commission for Backward Classes has recommended fixing of this gross annual income at Rs. 3 Lakhs. But the problems is how income from sources other than salary is to be determined[26].

On December 13, 1999, the Supreme Court held that "when government unreasonably refuse to eliminate creamy layer from the backward classes or when governments include more and more castes in the list of backward classes without adequate data and inquiry, a stage will be reached soon when the whole system of reservation will become farcical and a negation of the constitutional provisions relating to reservation".

One of the major issues in the policy of reservation is the lack of conceptual clarity with regard to the concepts 'class' and 'caste'. The present system of reservation is in favour of 'classes', and not individuals. And in order that the individuals may qualify for them, they must belong to those classes. There is no one or particular 'class' which is economically backward. All classes and social groups have economically backward. All classes and social groups have economically backward individuals. But on that account alone, a group does not qualify to be called a backward class. As Justice Kuldip Singh in his Dissenting Judgement in Mandal Case said "I..... hold that 'class' under Article 16(4) cannot be read as 'caste'. But both Justice Ratinavel Pandiyan and P.B. Sawat held that backward class can certainly be identified with caste. This conceptual confusion still persists. What is argued is that it is not the 'upper' castes or the social groups, but the poor individuals in the groups who should be entitled to reservation[27].

There was a resolution by the Rajasthan Chief Minister, Ashok Gehlot recommending statutory changes to reserve 14% of government jobs for the poor among the forward castes[28]. The Attorney- General, Soli Sorabjee also suggested for the extension of reservation to the Economically Backward Classes (EBCs) would require a constitutional amendment. EBCs cannot come within the ambit and scope of Art. 16 (4) as contemplated by the constitution. The AG said to provide reservation to the EBCs, Art. 15 (4) & 16 (4) needed to be amended. Elaborating, he said: " Art. 15(4) can be suitably amended by inserting the word 'economically' before the word ' socially & educationally backward". Similarly, he said: "Article 16 (4) can be amended by adding the

words "including economically backward class" after the words" any backward class of citizens" and before "which in the opinion of the state ...." Mr. Sorabjee said that such reservation would come within the total 50 percent limit fixed by the apex court. And to exceed this limit to provide for reservation to the EBCs, a further Constitutional amendment was needed. Cautioning the Government, he said: "I may point out that the suggested Constitutional amendment to overcome the limit of 50 per cent will also be subject to judicial scrutiny on the ground that it violates the basic structure of the Constitution, viz., equality"[29]. States like Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and others are facing this problem.

Such a reservation will not be easy to implement as "anybody can get an income certificate". And it would be susceptible to fraud as no one has yet come up with a way to operationalise it effectively. If an economic criterion is put in place, the apprehension is that the rich and the powerful in rural India would have a better chance of securing a fake income certificate and cornering the benefit. There is no constitutional provision for such a measure. The only way was to make it possible would be through a constitutional amendment. An impending threat to reservation is posed by the steady dismantling of the public sector- Implementation of the policy of disinvestment. Despite reservation in appointments, the representation of the SCs as on Jan1, 2000, was 11.29% in Group 'A' services and 12.68% in Group 'B' services of the central Government against their population percentage of about 16.5. The representation of the STs is much lower and the situation is more or less the same in public sector banks and insurance companies. But, the least representation is in central universities; not because of want of eligible candidates but because of sheer absence of will[30].

Article 46 of the Constitution under Directive Principles of State Policy envisages that the state shall protect the economically weaker sections from social injustice and all forms of exploitation, no concrete step has been taken so far to implement it[31].

Conclusion

Why there must be reservation based on castes. The answer is very simple; it is to render social justice to the deprived and exploited. What is social justice? Social justice is the right of the weak, aged, destitute, poor, women, children and other under-privileged persons to come up on par with the privileged. It is the duty of the State to protect these persons against exploitation. The under-privileged persons should be safeguarded against

advanced section of the society and be given right, liberty and other privileges. This is nothing but bridging the gap between the 'haves and havenots'.

Dr. Ambedkar's speech on the Constituent Assembly 55 years ago is worth pondering over. "On January 26, 1950 we are going to enter in to a life of contradiction. In politics we will have equality and in social and economic life we will have inequality. We must remove this at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up".

Reservation has definitely benefited the target groups in facilitating entry into educational institutions and in government service, though the benefits cluster around some communities and in some families; and reservation does not reveal any noticeable deterioration in the performance of administration or educational institutions. However even after 55 years the situation is no different. Some people questioned the very foundation of the reservation policy and some others demanded a time limit for reservation. This" When" is, however, like infinity. In a society which practised caste based social discrimination for about 3,000 years and consigned the bulk of the population to its dungheap, 50 years of the working of reservation is like a drop in the ocean, and fixing any arbitrary date to end it wishful thinking.

Perhaps it is worse. It is opt to remember the words of Sardar Patel who made this remark in the Constituent Assembly on May 26, 1949: "... these poor people are oppressed continuously and have not been saved yet and given protection. We are trustees. We have given a pledge in Poona under Poona Pact. Have we fulfilled the pledge? We must confess we are guilty".

Suggestions to Review the existing system of Reservation

1. Creamy layer should be introduced for SCs and STs also. It should reach the real needy people.
2. Economic ceiling for creamy layer should be enhanced periodically. The "welfare cheque" socially economically advanced persons and castes should be excluded periodically by every 5 or 10 years.
3. Ministers, MPs , MLAs and others holding public offices should be brought under the creamy layer.
4. Even within SC, ST, OBCs reservation should be made for rural people.
5. Reservation should be made for OBCs for their studies in the Central Government educational institutions. Nehru who was not in favour of this policy said "I dislike any kind of reservation..... the only real way to hold a backward group is to give opportunities for a good education".

6. Reservation policy should be extended to all departments and branches of Government like Judiciary, Army etc.,
7. Efforts should be taken to secure reservation in the private sector also in view of the dismantling of public sectors and fastness in privatisation process.
8. Strict measures should be taken to see that only genuine people belonging to a particular caste get the community certificate of that caste.
9. Economically backward sections among the upper castes may be reserved 10% of jobs both in central and state governments by making necessary amendments to the constitutions.
10. State governments should be empowered to fix the maximum ceiling on the percentage of reservation through a constitutional amendment. What is this 50% ceiling? Can't the parliament do away, when in Shah Bano case the parliament overruled the Supreme Court Judgement.
11. Third Backward Classes Commission may be appointed with persons of impeccable integrity and intellect drawn from legal academic circles and with the help of available latest statistical tools and techniques, the real backwardness of these castes may be measured by developing a set of comprehensive indicators and by collecting empirical data.

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15

Social Welfare, State Regulations and Non Government Organisations in Tamil Nadu

DR. R. SRINIVASAN

Welfare State

One concept which is, very often linked with discussions of social policy is that of the welfare state. There are problems about the usage of this expression. It embraces a variety of meanings, from a fairly basic minimalist one which sees a welfare state as one where the government has assumed responsibility for a variety of specific, and perhaps relatively narrowly defined, social policies. Hence any society where there are in operation statutorily guaranteed social security and health insurance policies, together with state education provision and perhaps some state intervention in the provision of housing , is likely to be described as a "welfare state".[1]

The word welfare state do not occur in the Indian Constitution. However, its preamble has mentioned as the following objective of the Sovereign, Socialist, Secularism Democratic and Republic of India, "to secure to all citizens social and economic justice and equality of status and opportunity". Article 38 of the Constitution directs the state to strive to promote the welfare of the people. Articles 39 to 43 and 45 to 48 cumulatively urge the state to work for the realization of the Welfare state by fighting the five-headed monster of want, ignorance, disease, squalor and idleness. This is the frame work of the welfare state.

Social Welfare

Social Welfare brings about all round well being of society by providing social serivices. The active intervention of the community, acting

politically in the lives of its citizens in the interest of their welfare and that of others, is the distinguising characteristic of a welfare state but the scope of this community concern and the ways in which it is manifested may vary from one poltical community to another, depending partly on economic and social conditions, partly on historical developments in the particluar country concerned and partly on the poltical and philosophical ideals and outlook of those responsible for shaping policy and framing legislation[2]. In our country, the state has assumed the following major responsibilities in the field of social welfare:

1. Social security
2. Provision of health service
3. Equal opportunity
4. Good physical and environment
5. Safety in all places of work
6. Special provision for the handicapped

The above said objectives of the welfare state becomes effective only when the government brings legislation and imposes on them the duty to create and maintain what are known as the statutory social services of one kind or another.

In social welfare, the state is the community acting politically, and although in this, as in other spheres, political action has come to overshadow other forms of community expression, the discussions on voluntary social service and the role of the volunteer should have revealed that it has not replaced them entirely. However, it is enlargingly in and through the activities of the welfare state that individual and group social concern finds expression and without this concern the welfare state will perish.

Welfare State and NGO

The major change in the nature of voluntary action took place in the post-independent India when the Constitution declared India as a Welfare State and laid down the 'Welfare' and 'development' obligations of the state in the Directive Principles of the State Policy. Welfare of the people, especially those whose needs were catered to by voluntary action groups became the responsibility of the state. The state monopolised the social service sector and became its sole patron. The fact remained that the state, howsoever strong was not able to carry out its mandate as in the post independence era, services of the state, not only extended larger areas geographically and socially but

also issues like environmental and health etc. were growing every day. The increased volume of the social activities pushed the state to utter helplessness, only to see its failure in not fulfilling even the basic minimum needs of the people nonetheless maintaining a huge infrastructure and permanent personnel. It was ready to hand over the responsibility of looking after the needs of the poor to the NGOs. To carrying these functions a number of small and large voluntary organizations suddenly emerged and continue to operate in India.

Voluntary organisations are charitable, service delivery, welfare oriented, relief and rehabilitation type of voluntary organisations which primarily work at the grass-roots level to alleviate sufferings of the poor and the marginalised; to respond to failure in government services by filling gaps in social services delivery and in the welfare of the weaker sections.[3]

The Concept of NGO

The term NGO has many complex implications as it is an identity thrust upon the social-change sector in India. It is a strait-jacketing, artificial and very deceptive term, used and misused often very widely. Till the mid 1970s we heard only about the voluntary organisations, community organisations, social actions groups or rural development organisations. With the early 1980s came brand new words, phrases and jargon. They came from the land of post modern wisdom, Western Europe and the USA.[4]

The term Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) is relatively new in the Indian context, the sector is closely interlinked with voluntary action, roots which can be traced to philanthropy and religious obligations enjoined on individuals to help the needy. An NGO is essentially a human change agent and is different from business in as much as that does not supply goods and services. It is also different from government since it does not control. What it does is to change human beings. Therefore, the term NGO is literally denoting all organisation outside the governmental sector. Non-governmental organizations engaged in or supporting developmental efforts focuses on the poor, and emphasize democratization, decentralization and popular participation.

Growth of Voluntary Efforts in India

In ancient India although the responsibility for welfare activities and social services rested largely with the king and the religious institutions, social organizations of the people also played an evident role. There is historical evidences to show that in the Chola kingdom of Tamil Nadu, village and district councils functioned with considerable autonomy over local matters.

The system of panchayat, an assembly of village elders, who arbitered on local disputes and whose ruling was accepted by all concerned, is a social organization, which still continue to exert influence in rural areas.[5] Literature available shows that Tamil Sangham, an assembly of poets acted as a watch dog for the maintenance of literacy standards. Before and during the colonial era, religious and social values of Islam and Christianity got introduced in institutions involved in charity, philanthropy and volunteerism. The Christian missions, with the support of the colonial administration, started social work in rural and tribal areas. Some Indians with western education, like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, were indicated lot of social evils of the then Indian society. They began to advocate reforms in social, religious, educational and political arena, opened new avenues for voluntary work.

Voluntary Moments in the Pre-Independent India

India has got a unique tradition of social work. The dawn of 19th century can rightly be said as the beginning of the social reform movement in India. A number of voluntary organisation came into existence during this period. For instance, Brahmo Samaj was established by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in the year 1828. Another social reform organisation Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswathi in 1875 in Bombay. Mahatma Phule also founded Sattya Shodhak Samaj in 1873 for the upliftment of depressed classes. Another improtant voluntary orgnaization Arya Mahila Samaj, which worked for the emancipation of women was establishd in 1880. A home for widows was started in Madras in 1898. Subsequently, Ramakrishna Mission, Servants of India Society and Friends- in Need Society have emerged to take care of welfare of the women, children, downtrodden and depressed class people. Thus, voluntary action in the early twentieth century was a basement for the over all social reform and social welfare in the country.[6]

Establishment of Voluntary Sector in the Post-Independent India

After the Second World War, most of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America got independence from the colonial rulers. The countries were poverty stricken. In order to ameliorate and speed up the progress, the government took efforts to welfare activities. The first 20 years of independence, till mid 1960s, are termed as the phase of nation-building. Many in the stream of social reform based voluntary action and the stream of counstructive work joined together in the governments' responsibilities and tasks of nation-building. This task focused on extension work in the field of agriculture, health and community development. Despite its endeavour, the government failed miserably.[7] It is during this time, the new professionally trained youngsters also began to enter voluntary development organisation.

In the Era of Globalization

In the era of globalisation and liberalisation, the state was under sever attack of its fiscal crisis by the international lending agencies such as IMF and World Bank. Therefore, the government instituted some form of a structural adjustment policy in the last decade of the 20th century. This forced the governments to reduce its expenditures and welfare activities. As a result, poverty, unemployment, underemployment increased because of the reduced spending on welfare activities and its reduced government presence in health education, housing, employment and social security. The structural adjustment has typically weakened the administrative capacity of governments for delivering welfare activities. As government agencies came to a grinding halt of its basic duties to the needy masses, it began to these voluntary organisations to compensate for the reduced role of the state in social service.

NGOs in Tamil Nadu

The tamil culture has a long and rich tradition of social service. Many missionaries from West started their social work in Tamil Nadu. In the process a blend of South Indian and Western Missionary philanthropic attempts emerged. Their focus was mainly on charity, school education and health services. In the 1970s and 1980s the sector was dominated by social action. They concentrated their activities on human rights, dalit rights, women rights and child rights. The main contention was that the conventional approach would not bring changes in the lives of the people, therefore, they initiated lot of charity work. This stream of development covered large areas and sections of people in helping the marginalised mass through agriculture development, women and child health, housing, forestry and economic development activities etc.[8]

Classification of NGOs in Tamil Nadu

We can classify the voluntary organizations in India on certain dimensions, which have both descriptive as well as analytical value in enhancing our understanding of the nature and functioning of such organizations. In such analysis it has been discovered that no single unitary parameters is enough to provide the basis for understanding the wide range of voluntary organizations that exists in Tamil Nadu. According to Rajesh Tandon that there are three main parameters that tend to distinguish the voluntary organizations in some significant ways. One of the most important sources of differentiation of voluntary organizations is the nature of the inspiration of the founder. The inspiration takes various forms – it may be philosophical,

intellectual, religious, or ideological inspirations. Different inspirations have quite different implications for the manner in which these organizations get established and the manner in which they function. The second parameter could be called rationale for initiating the voluntary action. It is almost like a statement of belief from the founder about what needs to be done in the society for an appropriate change to occur. Thirdly, parameter deals with the size of the NGOs, which has become one of the main parameter, explains the differences among non profit organizations. Size can be classified in various ways. One dimension of size of the NGO is the area of coverage, another in terms of full time and part time staff and the over all budget and available resources. It is possible to see all types (i.e. inspiration, rationale and size) of combinations those are existing in Tamil Nadu.

PRIA, a non-profit voluntary development organization based in New Delhi made an attempt to map out the non-profit sectors in Tamil Nadu.[9] According to the study, (PRIA 2002) there are an estimated number of 88,689 NGOs in the State, of which 46,070 are in rural areas and 42,619 are in urban areas, which can be seen in the following table.

	Registered	Unregistered	Total
Urban	28,194	14,425	42,619
Rural	13,115	32,955	46,070
Total	41,309	47,380	88,689

NGOs Involvement in Social Development in Tamil Nadu

1) Women Development
2) Literacy and Health
3) Housing
4) Drinking Water
5) Public Distribution System
6) Other Development Initiatives in the State

Voluntary Sector in Tamil Nadu at Present

The present scenario of the voluntary sector in Tamil Nadu are highlighted followingly:

i) **People's Participation**

Participation and awareness of women in the development activities has been enhanced. People's awareness on different issues has been increased.

The SHG movement is spreading to many villages and slums. Savings and credit, banking and income generation activities are in progress. Many women are getting into mainstream politics through the 73rd and 74th amendments.

ii) **Growth in the Sector**

Voluntary organisations have been growing phenomenally since the last decade of the 20th century, however, of recently, due to restricted funding by the international funding agencies, number of NGOs started declining.

iii) **Implementation of the Government Projects**

Government have invited various NGOs to take up the Government projects to implement effectively and economically. As a result many NGOs have enjoined itself as PIA (Project Implementing Agency). For instance, Mahalir thittam.

iv) **Government Playing NGO's Roles**

In recent years, the Tamil Nadu Government has registered its own NGO to satisfy the obligation to donors. This is a marked shift from the government as it tries to reduce the involvement of NGOs in some projects.

Emerging problems and Concerns about NGOs

Tamil Nadu has witnessed mushrooming of NGOs since mid 1980s to late nineties of the 20th century as a result of foreign funds and it continues to swell. It is just this sudden rush the NGOs are set up without thought or proper planning, without application, without assessing the Mission, purpose, strategy, approach, etc.

State Regulation

The relation between the NGOs and the State in a country like India needs to be based on the thorough understanding of the nature of NGO on the one hand, and the character of the state on the other.

State as a Regulator

One of the functions of the government in a modern society is to regulate the social, political and economic space. The state enacts a variety of regulatory mechanisms through its organs and agencies as well as through laws and legislation.

Three types of legislations directly affect NGOs in India today. Firstly, it relates to laws of registration or incorporation. From time to time, the government sets its own rules and regulations which limits the liability of its promoters and founders. Each successive amendment to the Society

Registration Act in different states of the country has been an attempt to further tighten the noose around the neck of NGOs by giving unilateral and inordinate powers to the agents of the state to intervene, regulate and check the fates of NGOs registered under the Society Registration Act of those states.[10]

Secondly, the state legislations affect NGOs that relate to finance. Two specific laws become relevant here. One is the Income Tax Act of 1961 which has always treated the work of NGOs at par with that of a business trust, charitable hospitals, dispensaries, educational institutions, etc. In fact, the Income Tax Act gives special concessions to boarding schools, public schools, hospitals and dispensaries, but not to those voluntary organisations which are engaged in non-formal adult education, on the one hand, or primary health care, on the other. Thus every year, NGOs must justify their non-profit status in the eyes of the Income Tax Department. Over the years, various amendments to the Income Tax Act have been made with a view to further tighten the control over NGOs, and to create provisions by which the economic viability or autonomy of NGOs is undermined. For example, the current provisions of Income Tax Act make it impossible for NGOs to carry out any activity to raise resources for its own because surplus generated through those activities would be liable to tax.

The second legislation related to finance is the Foreign Contribution Regulation Act, which was enacted during Emergency in 1976 and created to regulate the flow of foreign grants and contributions to all kinds of NGOs in the country. The Act has been amended since then with a view to further tighten it as a consequence of lot of terrorist activities so as to limit the space and narrow the work of NGOs. In an over all sense, over the last 20 years, the state has been tightening its role as a regulator and using it more often than not for limiting the space, work and the activities of those types of voluntary organisations which go beyond mere provision of help and charity and welfare of the poor.

Finally, a very unique role the state has played in India is that of Funder of voluntary organisations. Right after Independence, several institutions have been set up to find ways to promote funding of voluntary organisations.

1) Khadi and Village Industries Corporation (KVIC)
2) Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB)
3) Peoples' Action Development India (PADI)
4) Council for Advancement of Peoples' Action & Rural Technology (CAPART).

Of recently, the Planning Commission is planning to bring about strict regulation to put bait on the NGOs. The Planning Commission has recently issued a draft national policy on the voluntary sector. Though this policy is marked with the positive one, but not devoid of some serious conceptual and operational flaws. The policy should not bait the voluntary sectors of its independent, autonomous, innovative and flexibility which are the its key strength. The legal frame work should be an enabling environment and not a regulatory one. It is similar to the way recent government formulations have enabled the private sector to flourish, grow and operate in an effective manner. It is important that the government does not get involved in either building capacity or co-ordinating or networking in the voluntary sector. The draft national policy by the Planning Commission should come out boldly to construct a security wall for the government but should define the role of the government in encouraging and implementing such an enabling environment. Because no public policy can be effective without promoting better understanding of the current realities, contributions and constraints of the voluntary sector in the minds of political leaders, government officials and the public at large.

NGOs and Its Negative Indicators

It is not denying a fact that voluntary organizations are becoming shops for commerce. NGOs have been used for business, as a cover for business; they are also shops for employment. It is therefore not surprising to find a very number of NGOs in Tamil Nadu. Many organizations have been set up for the personal well being of their founders. Family business and family voluntary organizations share similar characteristics in many respects. However, the new trend is that political parties set up voluntary organizations in certain geographical areas to reach certain population. The NGOs are also set up by political parties to acquire funds from the government, such that their party workers could receive ongoing support on the basis of Government grants and projects. In some other case, it is due to personal needs of several party leaders, after their defeat in political career, not knowing whatelse to do, move on to setup a voluntary non-profit organizations for their sustenance.

Multiplicity and mass disappearing of NGOs may also be observed in Tamil Nadu due to emergence of certain corrupt practices among voluntary organizations. Most of them are letter pad organizations created primarily to receive one - time grant from Government departments or foreign donor agencies to siphon – off money for their own use. And there are also the visible uses of the forces like casteism, communalism and favoritism within the voluntary organizations.

Another worrisome trend is that the multinational funding agencies through a network of NGOs, propagates the philosophy of 'Grassroot Democracy', 'Participatory Development', 'People Planning', 'People Governance', 'Capacity Building' and 'Gender Justice', etc. The local NGOs carry this philosophy to their sphere of influence and implement programmes like self help groups for empowerment of women, providing rural sanitation facilities, etc and providing alternatives for every social problems. Both union and state governments also fund local NGOs for the same end. This collaborative approach of NGOs not only obfuscated the reality but also hampered the possible emergence of people's initiatives to understand it and change it. The funds flowing through alternative activities created a set of power brokers at the local level.

Conclusion

The new relationships and changes brought many changes in the NGO culture as well. Slowly the government systems and culture is spreading to voluntary sector. It is true that at the same time some learning is going on the either side. The major implication of this change has impacted the relationship between people and NGOs. Earlier, people were looking at NGOs as they are different and nearer to them. This image is now changing. The positive aspect of the relationship between government and NGOs has been in fact more acceptable in the official circles and they can take people's problems to the government.

Ever since, the concepts of welfarism, big government, state intervention etc. have been viewed from the standpoint of grand narratives, the argument being that they have lost public favour and charm in the prevailing neo-fordist/ flexible accumulation. However, the Keynesian welfare formula (long hailed as a panacea for all crisis of the capitalist economy) have been virtually abandoned to generate multiple options and strategies in dealing with the challenges of globalization.

The role of NGO is essentially based on local needs. Mere localized action of voluntary organizations will reduce the likelihood of their potential to be used for contributing towards social transformation. They must work also at the regional, state, national or international levels. The same strategy and mechanism will not be mere effective at all levels. So the challenge is not to work at the local or national level. The challenge is to continue to work at the local level with a national framework and vice – versa.

A false dichotomy that is beginning among NGOs in India and more so in Tamil Nadu is the debate between activism and professionalism. Because the professional is one who is committed towards work.

Another dichotomy is between developmental action versus political action. In fact, all social action and constructive work are closely linked to political action. Many NGOs believe in developmental action. Many others decline such interventions because it is not political action. In an unjust and unequal society like India where a small elite controls a large percentage of resources, any developmental intervention has political potential. Hence, delinking these two is a strategy to reduce the effectiveness of developmental intervention. The challenge for voluntary organizations in the future is to be able to combine their developmental intervention with the political struggle that the act of rebuilding has to be based on a framework of struggle and organization.

We need organizers and activists, researchers and documentalists, net workers and advocates, educationists and a vast array of people with diverse locations, contributions and expertise, but all committed to bring about social transformation. Unless the non-governmental organizations in Tamil Nadu recognize this and gear themselves to accept the reality and play multiple role in society in the coming period they will fail to achieve their goals.

The reality of the voluntary sector in this new millennium in India should not confuse with volunteer. The latter concept is those individuals who give of their time, skill and capacities freely, in the service of others in the community, without any expectation of return. On the other hand, voluntary initiatives are self-determined, self-organised, self-governed initiatives with independent mission. It is through the professional application of expertise in the voluntary sector that reforms in agricultural practices and wasteland development, water harvesting, micro-credit, primarily health care and sustainable development, etc., have been achieved in India. It is through the work of research and training organisation that knowledge about rights of the indigenous people, women's development issues, pollution and environmental degeneration, etc., has been brought to the attention of the public and the policy makers. It is through sustained advocacy and lobbying that voluntary organisations have been able to resist detrimental government policies and programmes and promote positive government policies. The latest of these has been exemplified in relation to the Cancun trade negotiations, where some of the best inputs came from professionally organised voluntary initiatives.

A good NGO should be catalytic, but not necessarily critical. Suggesting new directions and providing assistance and re-enforcement for bringing about change can be far more effective than criticism. NGOs should establish their credentials by learning the problems of departments or services and helping

to solve them by carrying out positive and constructive works. NGO should not try to do the job of the government agency but should instead try and find out what jobs governments agencies, with all their restirctions on action and funds, are unable to do for themselves. NGOs should use their assets, ie., flexibility, mobility, non-accountability, freedom to help GOs compensate for their liabilities, ie. Formalities, red tape, restrictions, political vulnerability, etc. NGO can act as catalysts to motivate governmental organisations. The government should not misunderstand that the NGOs are enemy of the government when the NGOs are friendly with people. At the same time the NGOs should strike a friendly movement to both people as well as the government.

Peter Drucker says that the non-profit or voluntary organisation exists to bring about a change - in individuals and in society.

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16

Child Labour Welfare in Welfare State

DR. E. ILAMATHIAN

The ideology of Welfare State is a well-accepted social phenomenon perceived not only as human freedom and progress, but also as an institution for ***Total Development*** of human life. The modern approach on welfare state require a Government to provide education for all, improved health, enriched employment opportunities, right to work, social security, cultural, recreational, housing, maximizing the national wealth, equitable distribution of wealth, provision for welfare amenities to all categories of employees, etc.

Indeed the main aim of welfare state is removing the social inequity and social injustice through welfare amenities. No doubt, the attention of government has been bestowed with every walks of human life to enhance their social life towards total development, by floating social welfare schemes. But still there is a dearth of attention on child Labour welfare.

In India, the child labour are deployed in both hazardous and non-hazardous industrial occupations. The Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act 1986, Prohibits employment of children in certain occupation and processes, such as;

Transport of passengers, goods or mails by railway; Cinder picking, clearing of an ash pit or building operation in the railway premises; Work in a catering establishment at a railway station, involving the movement of a vendor or any other employee of the establishment from one platform to another or into or out of a moving train; Work relating to the construction of a railway station or with any other work where such work is done in close proximity or between the railway lines; A port authority within the limits of any port.

Work relating to selling of crackers and fireworks in shops with temporary licenses, Abattoirs/Slaughter Houses.

Automobile workshops and garages; Foundries; Handling of toxic or inflammable substances or explosives; Handloom and Power loom industry; Mines (underground and under water) and collieries; Plastic units and fiberglass workshops. Further in the following process, the employment of children are prohibited; Abattoirs (Slaughtering houses) Bidi-making Carpet weaving including preparatory and incidental process thereof. Cement manufacture, including bagging of cement. Cloth printing, dyeing and weaving including processes preparatory and incidental thereof.

Manufacture of matches, explosives and fireworks. Mica-cutting and splitting. Shellac manufacture. Soap manufacture. Tanning. Wool-cleaning.

Building and construction industry. Manufacture of slate pencils (including packing)., Manufacture of products from agate.

Manufacturing process using toxic metals and substances such as lead, Mercury, Manganese, Chromium, Cadmium, Benzene, Pesticides and Asbestos.

Hazardous processes as defined in the Factories Act, 1948.

Printing as defined the Factories Act, 1948.

Cashew and Cashew nut decaling and processing.

Soldering processes in electronic industries.

'Aggarbatti' manufacturing.

Automobile repairs and maintenance including process incidental thereto namely welding, lathe work, dent beating and painting.

Brick-Kilns and Roof tiles units.

Cotton ginning and processing and production of hosiery goods.

Detergent manufacturing.

Fabrication workshops (ferrous and non-ferrous)

Gem cutting and polishing.

Handling of chromate and manganese ores.

Jute textile manufacture and coir making.

Lime kilns and manufacture of lime.

Lock-making.

Child Labour in Tamil Nadu

70,344

Total number identified

Girls 48%

Boys 52%

Dharmapuri

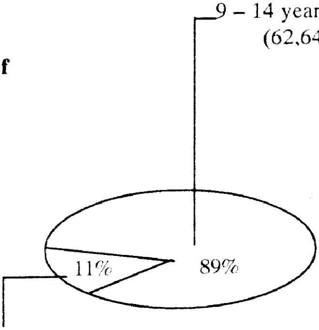
Salem

Virudhunagar

District-wise distribution

Number of child labourers	**Number of districts**
More than 5,000	4
4,000 – 5,000	3
3,000 – 4,000	2
2,000 – 3,000	3
1,000 – 2,000	5
Less than 1,000	12

Age group



Number of children in hazardous work areas

Weaving 3,951
Beedi rolling... 2,396
Matchworks... 1,958
Cotton ginning & hosiery 1,571
Construction works... ... 1,034
Automobile repairs... ... ... .941

Children engaged in hazardous occupations 17,385

Children engaged in non-hazardous 52,959 occupations

Note: The figure for Dharmapuri is for the composite district
Source: Labour Dept. Report to SHRC

Manufacturing processes having exposure to lead such as primary and secondary smelting. Welding and cutting of lead-painted metal constructions, welding of galvanized or zinc silicate, polyvinyl chloride, mixing (by hand) of crystal glass mass, sanding or scrapping of lead paint, burning of lead in enameling workshops, lead mining, plumbing, cable making, plumbing, cable making, wire patenting, lead casting, type founding in printing shops, store type setting, assembling of cars shot making and lead glass blowing.

Manufacture of cement pipes, cement products and other related work.

Manufacturing of glass, glassware including bangles, fluorescent tubes, bulbs and other similar glass products. Manufacture of dye stuff. Manufacturing or handling of pesticides and insecticides. Manufacturing or processing and handling of corrosive and toxic substances, metal cleaning, and photo, engraving, soldering processes in electronic industry. Manufacturing of burning coal and coal briquettes. Manufacturing of sports goods involving exposure to synthetic materials, chemicals and leather. Molding and processing of fiberglass and plastic.

Oil expelling and refinery.

Paper making. Potteries and ceramic industry. Polishing, molding, cutting, welding and manufacture of brass goods in all forms. Processes in agriculture where tractors, threshing and harvesting machines are used and chaff cutting.

Saw mill - all processes.

Sericulture processing.

Skinning, dyeing and processes for manufacturing of leather and leather products.

Stone breaking and stone crushing.

Tobacco processing including manufacturing of tobacco, tobacco paste and handling of tobacco in any form.

Tyre making, repairing, re-treading and graphite benefication.

Utensils making, polishing and metal buffing.

'Zari' making (all processes).etc.,

But, there are still innumerable children are employed in many unorganized sectors. The statistics of child labour in Tamilnadu given below is an illustration not an end.

It is pertinent to note here the survey done by SURVA SIKSHA ABHIYAN, indicated a considerable reduction in the intensity of child labour in Tamilnadu.On the other side the NGOs project the plight of child labour in the mass media everyday and the rehabilitation services .The action plan worked out by the Tamilnadu government reveal to eliminate child labour in hazardous employment by2005 and in non-hazardous employment by 2007.It is one of the attempts of the Govt. towards the reach of welfare state in the near future.

The Directive Principles of the State Policy of the Indian Constitution lays down that the State shall provide free and compulsory elementary education to all children till they complete the age of fourteen. It also envisages that the tender age children shall not be abused on account of economic necessity.

We have several sectoral legislation like Factories Act 1948, Plantation Labour Act 1951, Mines Act 1952, Shops & Establishment Act etc. to prescribe the minimum age of entry into employment, besides penal provisions for contraventions. The enactment of the Children Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986 is an important land mark in the history of India to prohibit the engagement of children in certain employment and to regulate the conditions of work of children in certain other employments. The Act contains four parts.

Part I Preliminary definitions

Part II Prohibition of employment of children in certain occupations and process.

Also it contains the procedure for the constitution of Child Labour Technical Advisory Committee.

Part III Regulates the conditions of work of children.

Part IV Penal provisions and Miscellaneous.

It seems that part III of the Act is still not implemented because of so many constraints and restraints. The penal provisions as per section 14 of the Act (Read with Section 3) makes the employer to contest the case on many grounds using the loopholes.

A study on the Child Labour cases "-Autospy" conducted by Dr. E. Ilamathian, (1994) Tamilnadu Institute of Labour Studies reveals the following major loopholes attributed to the acquittal of the cases filed by the prosecution/ Inspecting officials.

1) Procedural delay in filing the cases.

2) There was no clear proof (or) medical officers certificate to the fact that the children allegedly employed in the factory were below the age of 14 years.

3) While noticing the contraventions the inspecting officials did not obtain the deposition from any other workmen of the factory.

4) Section 92 of the Factories Act 1948 was not amended to accommodate the prosecutions of contraventions of section 67 under section 14 (1) of the Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act 1986.

5) The Medical Officer who certified the age of the child had not stated the age of the child in conformity with any records, further he certified the age of the child based on the guidelines of Modis Medical Jurisprudence of Toxicology (i.e.) based on

   (i) the formation of teeth
   (ii) growth of limb
   (iii) changes in tissue growth
   (iv) growth of bones
   (v) growth of hairs
   (vi) vocal changes etc.

However, based on the above we cannot say the exact age of a child and this may be plus (or) minus 3 years.

6) The children were not produced before the Court by the prosecuting official.

7) There were no Rules framed by the State Government (Tamilnadu) under this Act (Rules notified in 1994).

Besides these, many other reasons were cited by the Magistrate Court in the light legality and acquitted under section255 (1) of the Cr. P.C.

The Directive Principles of State Policy does not separate children in hazardous or nonhazardous occupations. The elementary education is for every child. In principle no child below the age of 14 year should be employed. There must be proper education and the tender age of children should not be exploited.

The very purpose of enactment of Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act 1986 itself forfeited the constitutional validity besides the

inherent loopholes. The Act must be re-named as "CHILD LABOUR ABOLITON ACT" and the objective must be abolition of child labour employment both in hazardous and non hazardous occupations. The Central Government must take an effective step to abolish the system of child labour in India similar to that of Bonded Labour (Abolition) Act 1970

The recent directions of the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India is highly thought provocating and reminds us to look into the genuine thinking of free and compulsory education for all children until they attain the age of 14 years (Article 45).

Mr. Justice B.L. Hansaria, who delivered the judgement of the Bench directed those employers offending the Child Labour (Prohibition & Regulation) Act 1986 to pay a compensation of Rs. 20,000 for every child employed, and this should be deoposited in a fund called "CHILD LABOUR REHABILITATION-CUM-WELFARE FUND". Besides this the appropriate state government should deposit in the fund Rs. 5,000 for each child in the offending employer employing the concerned child, fails to provide a job to an adult in the family.

The Bench, also directed that the adult member for the job may be suggested by the parent/guardian of the child concerned. If the alternative employment is provided the parent/guardian shall have to see to it that the child is spared from the requirement of doing the job as an alternative source of income. The employment so given as well be the industry where the child is employed, shall be one which is nearest to the place of residence of the family. In those cases where alternative employment would not be made available, the parent/guardian of the child would be paid the income which would be earned on the corpus of the sum of Rs. 25,000 for each child, every month. However, it is very pertinent to note that the employment so given or the payment made would cease to be cooperative if the child would not be sent by the parent/guardian for education. The enactment of child labour (Prohibition and Rehabilitation) Act 2002, is a boon to augument the Rehabilitation of the Child Labour.

17

Child Welfare Programmes in Tamil Nadu: With Special Reference to Nutritious Meal Programme and Integrated Child Development Services Scheme

DR. R. MATHAIYAN

Introduction:

A country's real wealth is its human resources. If human resources develop, then the country's economic will also develop. Both human resources development and society's development will largely depend upon the children. Children with curiosity for learning are the best wealth a nation can have. But such children are only dream. In India, about 20 million children born in every year. More than 2 million children do not live to see their welfare measure below the subsistence level, i.e. without adequate nutrition, health care, housing facilities, sanitation and safe drinking water.

It is necessary to define the concept of child welfare before analyzing problems in the provision of child welfare. Child welfare programme can be defined as "the basic stage of socio-economic development, the state of health infrastructure and the attitude of the people towards the value of human life especially the growth measures of children."

Of all the child welfare programmes offered by the Government of India and the State Government, Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (ICDS) seems to have promised little success amidst children learning all other packages of nutrition, health and education services below anybody's

expectations. However, the major problematic is that even that ICDS touches only the fringe of the Child population.

Child Welfare Committee In India:

As early as October 1960, realising the need to study the problems of child care and child welfare, the Central Social Welfare Board (CSWB) at the instance of the Union Ministry of Education, appointed a committee to prepare a comprehensive plan for the care and training of children in the age group of 0-6 years.

For the first time this particular age group came to be focused Earlier various other committees had been appointed from time to time to study problems of children after reaching the primary school age. The committee observed that "it should be the National policy to consider child welfare as an integrated and comprehensive programme which must be implemented, every where by properly constituted agencies of child welfare in all parts of the country. The committee also recommended that at least one demonstration child welfare project should be organised in every state. These projects will provide an intensive and integrated programme of child welfare including programme for the welfare of children less than 6 years.

While appointing a committee to determine the adequate needs of the child in various field of development and to assess the requirements of funds and personnel and to suggest suitable programmes vide department of social welfare resolution on October 1967 it was observed: the Government of India have been taken various measures to promote the development of the country's human and material resources through successive Five Year Plans. One of the most effective means of developing human resources is to concentrate on the welfare of children. Although numerous programmes of child welfare have been promoted both with the help of the state Government and voluntary social welfare organisations, much remains to be done for meeting the essential needs of children in the country. The problem requires an assessment of the needs of the child during the various stages of development and formulation of programme to meet these needs in the context of the prevailing conditions and the ideals of a welfare state wedded to ensure its people social and economic, justice and quality of status of opportunity.

Finally, after two and half decades of accumulative experience in planning and implementation to programmes for children and recognising the vital role of integrated delivery of early childhood services. The Government of India launched the programme of the Integrated Child Development Services in 1975.

Objectives:

i) To improve the nutritional and health status of children in the age group 0—6 years.

ii) To lay the foundations for proper psychological, physical and social development of the child.

iii) To reduce the incidence of mortality, morbidity, and malnutrition and school drop outs.

iv) To achieve effective co-ordinated policy and its implementation amongst the various departments to promote child development and

v) To enhance the capability of the mother to work after the normal health and nutritional needs of the child through proper nutritious and health education.

Child Welfare Programmes In Tamil Nadu:

The Tamil Nadu Government has been formulating and implementing number of welfare programmes for the development of children. Children should stand as pillars of the strength of the future society. The care and well being of children has been the concern of Government which accords high priority to childhood development and nutrition. The following programmes are implementing in Tamil Nadu:

1. Girl Child Protection Scheme
2. Cradle Baby Scheme
3. Nutritious Meal Programme.
4. National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education.
5. Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (ICDS)
6. Kishori Shakti Yojana-Adoloscent Girl Scheme
7. Pradhan Mantri's Gramodaya Yojana Scheme
8. World Bank Assisted ICDS – III Project.
9. Adoption
10. Karunai Illam
11. Free supply of Uniform scheme to school children studying Std. I to VIII.
12. Free supply of Textbooks and Note Books for the children of poor widows.
13. Creches for children of working and ailing mother's.

All the above, the researcher mainly focus on nutritious meal programme and Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (ICDS)

I - Nutritious Meal Programme:

Tamil Nadu has already established a lead in the country by taking laudable steps for improving access of children and expectant mothers to nutrition. Now the aim of the Government is to consolidate this position and become the first state in the country to provide a "Whole Life Cycle Nutritious Security Programme" for those below the poverty line with special nutrition for expectant mothers, infants and the aged.

The former Chief Minister (late) M.G.Ramachandran introduced Nutritious Meal Programme on 1st July 1982, in child welfare centers in rural areas for pre-school children in the age group of 2—5 years and for primary school children in the age group of 5-9 years. Subsequently, this scheme was extended to the nutrition's meal centers in urban areas from 15-09-1982 onwards. From 15th September 1984 onwards the NMP was further extended to the school students of 10-15 years of age. Old age pensioners have been included in the scheme with effect from 15th January 1983 and pregnant women are also benefited under this programme with effect from 6th December 1995.

Table –1

Budget Estimate 2003-2004

Rupees in crore

S. No.	Heads of Department	NMP	ICDS*	World Bank**	Udhisa
1	World Bank Assisted ICDS-III	71.17	240.25	8.91	7.21
2	Directorate of Rural Development	191.63	-	-	-
3	Commissionerate of Municipal Administration	10.66	—	—	—
4	Commissionerate of Civil Supplies	129.56	—	—	—
	Total	403.02	240.25	8.91	7.21

Source : Social Welfare And Nutrition's Meal Programme Department, Government of Tamil Nadu - 2003.

* This includes grants released by the Government of India and the State Government funding.

** This is fully funded by World Bank.

The details of the number of the nutritious meal centers and the beneficiaries under various NM schemes are given below:

Table –2

Child Welfare Centers

Scheme	Number of Centers	Number of Beneficiaries			
		Children		Mothers and old age pensioners	Total
		6-24 Months	2-5 Years		
ICDS	10625(AWC)	145379	294671	104586 (Mothers)	544636
WB ICDS-III	19500 (CNS & CWS)	237041	550206	56465 (OAP) 236869 Mothers	1080581
NMP (Urban)	718(CWC)	—	30096	3105(OAP)	33201
Total	30638	382420	874973	401025	1658418

Source: Social Welfare and Nutritious Meal Programme Department, Government of Tamil Nadu - 2003.

Table –3

School Nutritious Meal Centers

S.No	Scheme	No. of Centers	No. of Beneficiaries
1	NMP (Rural)	38925	6015252
2	NMP (Urban)	2087	476410
3	Total	41012	6491662

The main objective of the scheme is to provide adequate nutrition to economically disadvantaged children to improve the health and nutritional status of children, to develop their mental and physical ability and to increase the enrolment in schools and reduce dropouts.

All child welfare centers except 718 Municipal Centers (which were functioning) have been brought under the ICDS scheme and WB assisted ICDS scheme-III.

The requirements of food commodities for each NMP centre is supplied by the Tamil Nadu Civil Supplies Corporation. A grant of 35 paise per beneficiary per day is given for the purchase of vegetables, condiments inclusive of salt and fuel.

The Government of Tamil Nadu has introduced a scheme of supply of protein rich food viz., 20 grams each of boiled potato, whole green gram and whole black Bengal gram at one item per day for three days in a week to each beneficiary per day along with noon meal. By this scheme, each beneficiary derives an additional nutrition of 8.54 grams of protein and 158.2 calories of energy per week.

The Government is taking steps to strengthen the NMP centers by ensuring that repairs are carried out wherever necessary. The budget estimate for 2003-2004 for repairing NMP centers is Rs.12.10 crores.

A sum of Rs. 1 crore has been allotted for the purchase of new aluminum vessels to the NM centers for the year 2002—2003.

National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education:

The National Programme of nutritional support to primary education was launched in Tamil Nadu on 15th August 1995.

Under this programme, the Government of India, Ministry of HRD is supplying free rice to provide nutritional support to primary school children studying in I to V standard at the rate of 100 grams per child per day for 10 months in an academic year.

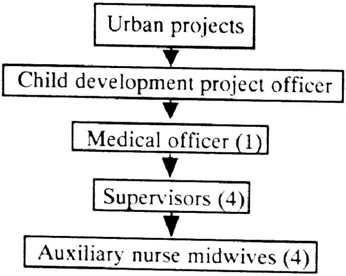
II - Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (ICDS):

Integrated Child Development Services Scheme was introduced in the year 1975. In Tamil Nadu, 3 projects were launched at Chennai, Thally and Nilakkottai on an experimental basis and now it has been expanded to 116 projects covering 67 projects in rural areas, 47 projects in urban areas and 2 projects in tribal areas. There are 10625 centres functioning in 116 projects.

The principal beneficiaries under the scheme are children below 6 years, nursing and expectant mothers and women in the age group of 15 to 45 years.

The ICDS scheme envisages the package of services such as growth monitoring. Supplementary nutrition, immunisation, health care, referral services, nutrition, health education and non-formal pre-school education. In addition to the regular services, adolescent girls programme, community participation programme and micro-credit activities through women self-help groups are also given important.

Each ICDS project covers one lakh population and it can be classified into two projects 1) Urban projects, 2) Rural and Tribal projects. The urban projects administration as follows.



Rural and Tribal Projects:

In rural and tribal projects, the child development project officer is assisted by 4 supervisors and one mobile team trainer who take care of training programme and follow-up of the scheme. There is one Anganwadi worker and one helper posted as per Government of India's norms. The health activities in rural and tribal areas are taken care by the primary health centers. Each project covers 60 to 130 Anganwadi centers. Each Anganwadi centre covers 1000-1500 populations.

This scheme is a centrally sponsored scheme. All expenses including salaries of state, district and project level functionaries (except the expenditure on weaning food) are reimbursed by the Government of India.

For improving the function of scheme, the following materials are provided.

a) Medicine kids to Anganwadi centers

b) Pre-school kids to Anganwadi centers.

Under Adolescent girls programmes, Iron and Folic Acid supplementation has been started through health department to control anemia. Awareness campaign on nutrition and health, legal rights, home management and childcare are conducted.

Community mobilisation camps at village level, sectoral level and district level are conducted and national days, such as children's day, nutrition week are celebrated every year. To motivate the basic level workers for improved performance 26 state level awards and one national level award is being given to Anganwadi workers.

For the implementation of the above scheme, a sum of Rs.56.95 crores has been provided for the year 2002-2003.

World Bank Assisted ICDS III Project:

World Bank has been assisting nutrition programmes in Tamil Nadu for the past two decades starting with the Tamil Nadu Integrated Nutrition Project (TINP) in its two phases, implemented in 318 blocks covering 24 districts. The Government of India gave their concurrence to implement the scheme under the ICDS pattern in 1998 onwards in all the erstwhile blocks of TINP-II with some modifications.

In 24 districts through 19500 centres already covered under erstwhile TINP –II for a period of five years from 1998-99 to 2003-2004.

Beneficiaries of WB. ICDS-III Project:

- Children 0-3 years
- Children 3-6 years
- Expectant mothers
- Nursing mothers
- Adolescent girls
- Community groups / Community leaders.

Package of Services Delivered at Anganwadi Centers:

- Growth promotion
- Selective supplementary nutrition
- Early childhood care and pre-school education
- Nutrition and health education
- Health services by health personnel
- Referral services.

Strategy for Service Delivery:

- Services are at Anganwadi centre level
- Nutrition and health services are given as a package to target groups / involving allied departments
- Services are rendered jointly by health and Nutrition functionaries (Joining service delivery)
- Joint supervision by health and nutrition supervisions

- Joint review at primary health centre block / District level
- Programme support by training and communication.

Kishori Shakti Yojana (KSY) - Adolescent Girl Scheme:

A new scheme called "KSY" is implemented from the year 2001-2002 to undertake orientation training camp programme for adolescent Girls in 37 ICDS Projects in 9 Districts at a total cost of Rs.40.145 lakhs.

Pradhan Mantri's Gramodaya Yojana (PMGY) Scheme:

Under PMGY scheme, Nutrition supplementation is given to children in the age group of 6 months to 36 months covering 10625 centres in 116 rural and urban ICDS Projects.

Conclusion:

Since, Nutritious Meal Programme and Integrated Child Development Services Scheme attempt to shape maternal behaviour, the impact of new WB Assisted ICDS-III project requirements in these children should be further investigated. Even though, there is a need for time bound action plan at the national level to control and eliminate chronic micronutrient deficiency, the ICDS and NMP are the best option for doing the same. It requires strengthening through constant monitoring and evaluation. Multi-sectoral approach is necessary with the departments involved such as health, food processing, agriculture, rural development etc., to ensure prevention and reduction of this micro nutrient deficiency. In this programmes, the researcher interested in identifying the potential programme of state welfare policies on child welfare. The researcher found few issues related to child welfare.

1) Due to a multitude of sectors involved in the development of child, namely health, education, community development etc., no single comprehensive plan of action has emerged in child welfare.
2) There are few institutions and programmes for children in the age group of 0-3 years.
3) In tribal and remote areas a wide gap exists in the delivery system of this programme.

Suggestions for Further Improvements of Child Welfare:

1) Educate and empower parents as well as alternative caregiver to help improve their interaction with child and enrich their environment.
2) Need for regular training and refresher courses for child care.

3) Design strategies to increase support at national level to advocate integrated childhood programmes.
4) To create a platform to facilitate exchange of ideas and experiences regarding child development.
5) Pregnant mother should be given proper nutrition and guidance.
6) Existing child welfare act applicable to working women in the factories and industries are not properly enforced. Action should be taken to execute the child welfare act in the industries and factories.

The findings and suggestions from this study indicate the need for continued attention to the potential programmes of state policies on child welfare, because, children should stand as pillars of the future society.

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18

Labour Welfare in the Unorganised Sector in Tamilnadu

DR.(MRS.) B.JAYANTHI

The concept of labour welfare originated in the desire for a humanitarian approach to ameliorate the sufferings of the workers and their families on account of the baneful effects of large scale industrialization like undesirable social consequences and the labour problems which have evolved in the process of transition from tradition to modernity. Later it became a utilitarian philosophy which worked as a motivating force for labour and for those who were interested in it. Lastly labour welfare received inspiration from the evolution of social thought in regard to democracy and welfare state.

The chapter on the Directive Principles of State Policy in our Constitution expresses the need for labour welfare thus:

Article 38 : The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice,social,economic and political,shall inform all the institutions of the national life.

Article 39 : The state shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing.

(a) That the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood;

(b) That the ownership and control of the material resources of the community are so distributed as best to sub-serve the common good;

(c) That the operation of the economic system does not result in the concentration of wealth and means of production to the common detriment.

(d) That there is equal pay for equal work for both men and women;

(e) That the health and strength of workers, men and women, and the tender age of children are not abused and that citizens are not forced by economic necessity to enter avocations unsuited to their age of strength;

(f) That childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment.

Article – 41: The State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to reduction and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement and in other cases of undeserved want.

Article – 42: The State shall make provision for securing just and human conditions for work and for maternity relief.

Article – 43: The State shall endeavor to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organisation or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wages, conditions of work ensuring a leisure and social and cultural opportunities and in particular, the State shall endeavor to promote cottage industries on an individual or co-operative basis in rural areas.

More than a third of the word population lives under extreme conditions of poverty and deprivation. These are typically people found in remote areas with difficult access to markets and institutions, not educated, with poor health, employed in jobs with little security and with inadequate access to productive assets. Such characteristics make the poor vulnerable to shocks caused by life cycle changes, and economic reforms. The vulnerability of the poor to socio-economic shocks can be reduced by policies that protect their livelihoods, increase their human capital and assist them in times of crises.

As per the survey carried out by the National Sample Survey Organisation in the year 1999-2000, the total employment in both organized and unorganised sector in the country was of the order of 39.7 crore. Out of this, about 2.8 crore were in the organised sector and the balance 36.9 crore in the unorganised sector. Out of 36.9 crore workers in the unorganised sector

23.7 crore workers were employed in agriculture sector, 1.7 crore in construction, 4.1 in manufacturing activities and 3.7 crore each in trade and transport,communication & services.

Special characteristics of the unorganized sector include the following

- With an overwhelming number, range and complexity of problems the unorganized sector has not been amenable to any statistical accuracy and precision in the same sense as the organised sector.
- Existing surveys conducted in few sectors of employment do not throw light on all aspects and not much helpful in building adequate database.
- Suffers from cycles of excessive seasonality of employment and lack of stable and durable avenues of employment.
- Low legislative protection due to scattered and dispersed nature of employment.
- No formal employer-employee relationship. Primitive production technologies and feudal production relations not conducive to encourage the workmen to imbibe and assimilate higher technologies and better production relations.
- Large-scale ignorance and illiteracy and limited exposure to the outside world.

However, despite the need for social security policies, it is not immediately clear that developing countries are able to implement programmes of social security. A vast majority of India's workforce, estimated at 92% are unorganised and consequently unprotected. They together with their family members and those of marginal farmers and self – employed workers, are the victims of the prevailing economic system which is responsible for denial to them an iota or even semblance of social justice in juxtaposition to natural justice and in contradistinction to legal justice.

Think of a rural woman doing agricultural labour who when there is no work along with her husband and other family members does whatever work is available for instance constructing roads, digging ponds collecting and selling forest products-for this woman her needs are clear. She and the adult members of her family need enough employment throughout the year to survive, they need to earn enough for their basic needs of food, clothing and shelter. They need drinking water and sanitation. They need access to health care at prices they can afford. Their children need access to education. She needs help to be able to take care of her. She needs support in her old age. She is willing to

work long hours, but can she be compensated enough for her work to obtain all her needs. For people like her, the fulfillment of the post Independence socialistic constitutional guarantees of equality of status and opportunity and the right to live with human dignity coupled with promises of adequate means of livelihood and living wage is no where a right, even after lapse of half a century.

No wonder, this large chunk of population languish below poverty line. Worst affected among the unorganised labour are those who under force of circumstances of abject poverty, migrate from their home states to seek casual employment in other states where they are engaged as cheap labour to perform back – breaking manual work in inhuman conditions and in flagrant violation of legally prescribed working hours, overtime, rest days and wage payment.

The issue becomes complex when we begin to examine the response of the society to these clearly defined needs. There is an underlying assumption that society has an obligation to try and meet these needs. On the contrary, with the retreat of the welfare state and the growing reliance on market forces, the needs of these people are no longer seen as "social needs" an obligation of the society. They are seen as 'individual needs' to be fulfilled through market forces .

Tamilnadu is among the most relatively urbanised and industrialised states of India, with a relatively developed infrastructure. Factors such as progressive reduction in birth rate, abundant and skilled manpower, relatively better performance in education and health among the states of India etc. have contributed to the overall economic and social development of the state.

However, the social development scene in Tamilnadu is riddled with many contradictions and negative factors. Development has been very uneven regionally within Tamilnadu and more important the benefits of development have been unevenly distributed leading to increase in inequality levels over the years.

The impressive statistics put out by the Tamilnadu Government. to boast about its performance in the social sector are often misleading. These impressive indicators mark the relative and absolute deprivation of a vast section of people especially the unorganised labour including vast sections of women and children.

To top it all, since 1991, Tamilnadu has been among the front-line states, set on course for the onslaught of unfettered globalization and private enterprise. The liberalisation policy and the Structural Adjustment Programme

introduced in 1991 have already resulted in explicit cuts in Government. investment in key areas of social sector.

Tamilnadu has a population of 621 lakhs comprising 343 lakh non-workers and 278 lakh workers. About 91% of the workers amounting to 253 lakhs are in the unorganised sector and the remaining 9% are in the organized sector. This is in conformity with the national picture.

Unorganised labour irrespective of their status fall within the purview of a number of legislations. On the one hand, the laws are mostly commendable in their declared intentions and acceptance of fundamental rights of workers. However, they are hardly implemented in any meaningful way for most workers in the country The important legislations which cover the unorganized sector are

The Minimum Wages Act ,1948

The Equal Remuneration Act,1976

Workmen's Compensation Act,1923

Inter State Migrant Workers Act,1979 and

Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act,1970

The minimum wages legislation which does neither specify the minimum rates of wages nor does lay down any norm for fixation of minimum wage does not help them in the absence of their bargaining power, but prescribes only constitution of Minimum Wage Boards, and Committees for regulating the same.

It must be noted that violation of minimum wages, equal wages etc, bonded labour and child labour are widely prevalent in this sector. While on the one hand the existing laws such as Minimum Wages Act, Equal Remuneration Act, Contract Labour Act, Interstate Migrant Workers Act have not been implemented in most part of the country due to insecurity of employment on the other hand globalisation has led to further erosion of employment of opportunities and livelihood and has reduced the bargaining capacity of the unorganised sector workers considerably. The institution of contractor or middlemen which instead of abolition is being encouraged or legalised by some regulation is baneful to any civilised society.

The specific provision contained in the Inter-State Migrant Workmen. (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1979, that a migrant worker employed in an establishment shall not be paid wage less than what is paid to the regular employees of the establishment performing

similar work and shall be allowed the same quantum of leave, holidays, hours of work and other conditions of service, has not been complied with and no legal action for its breach has been taken or is being contemplated thus rendering the law a dead letter.

The provisions under the Equal Remuneration Act makes it obligatory for the contractor to pay equal wages to male and female labourers, more often than not the women labourers are paid lesser wages compared to male workers.

Also the beneficial provisions contained in the contract labour legislation hardly benefit the workmen covered there under due to the nature of their ever casual employment and lacunae in the legislation on the one hand and non availability of records of information on the other hand.

The two major categories that dominate unorganised Labour are agricultural labourers and construction workers., Besides agricultural workers and construction workers, the workforce in the unorganised sector has been divided by the Tamilnadu Government into 65 categories such as workers engaged in Tendu leaf collection, beedi workers, salt workers, toddy tappers, carpenters, forest workers, handloom weavers, crafts persons, cobblers, etc This is very much in contrast to the Central Government which has added 127 categories to the list of scheduled employment under the unorganized sector.

Agricultural labourers:

Agricultural workers constitute by far the largest segment of workers in the unorganised Sector Out of 369 million workers in unorganised sector, there are 237 million workers employed in agricultural and allied activities. In spite of the fact that these agricultural workers have such numerical strength, they are extremely vulnerable to exploitation. Broadly, the problems of agricultural workers can be classified into two groups viz.,(i) social and (ii) economic. Social problems emanate from the low status of agricultural workers in the rural hierarchy and the economic problems are due to inadequacy of employment opportunities, poor security, low income and inadequate diversification of economic activity in rural areas.

Characteristics of Agricultural Labour:

- They are dispersed, unorganised and generally have poor bargaining power.
- Due to seasonal work they often have to migrate for alternative avenues of employment in other areas like construction etc. during off-season.

- Circumstances force many of them to borrow, from time to time, from private money lenders or to meet social obligations (marriages, etc.) or even to maintain a subsistence level and some of them end up as bonded labourers.

To provide social assistance to the agricultural labourers the Government constituted the Tamilnadu Agricultural Labourers Welfare Board in the year 2000 to function under the Revenue Department. The labourers could register themselves with the Board. by making a one time contribution of Rs.100 and thus become eligible for benefits like maternity assistance and accident relief.

As on 28.02.2003,7,30815 persons have been registered and an amount of Rs,7,30,81,560 has been collected under this scheme towards welfare fund. Today, the Agricultural Workers Welfare Board has become non functional.. Registration, renewals and provision of benefits have been stopped. This situation reflects the inefficiency of the State administration in Tamilnadu and the pathetic conditions of the agricultural labourers. Moroever the State has not taken any measures towards the implementation of the recommendations of the Kolappan Committee on agricultural labour.

Construction Workers:

Construction workers constitute the second largest category of workers in the unorganised sector. According to the Sample survey conducted by NSSO in 1999-2000, about 1.76 crore workers are employed in the construction activities. Construction jobs are highly labour intensive and also highly mechanised. The entire activity is mobile, seasonal, intermittent and mostly inter-connected. The completion period of projects ranges widely and calls for engagement of labour from various trades, skills and professions. The duration of employment, quantum of work (work pressure) and arduousness differ from one extreme to another. Construction labour is generally unskilled, and therefore mostly attracts migrant agricultural labour during off-season. The workers are usually socially backward and illiterate with low bargaining power.

One of the major features of construction industry is that it is prone to risks of accidents. Due to non-detection and non-reporting, accurate statistics of the number of such accidents is difficult to obtain.

Factors contributing to this include:

- large proportion of small firms and of self employed workers; variety and comparatively short-life of construction sites ;

- high turnover of workers;• large number of seasonal and migrant workers many of whom are unfamiliar with construction processes
- exposure to the vagaries of the weather;
- many different trades and occupations.

The Government of India has been greatly concerned about the welfare of these workers and, therefore, provisions of various Acts have been extended to them. Still a need was felt for a comprehensive Central legislation for this category of workers. Eventually the following two enactments have come on the Statute Book w.e.f. 20.8.96:

(1) The Building and Other Construction Workers (Regulation of Employment and Conditions of Service) Act, 1996 ;

(2) The Building and Other Construction Workers' Welfare Cess Act, 1996;

The legislation provides for regulating the employment and conditions of service, safety and health and welfare measures for the construction workers by setting up a Welfare Fund at the State level to be financed by contribution made by beneficiaries, levy of cess on all construction works at rates between 1 to 2 % of the construction cost incurred by an employer and non-mandatory grants/loans by the State/Central Governments. The Fund is to be used for giving financial assistance to the families of beneficiaries in case of accident, old age pension, housing loans, payment of insurance premium, children's education, medical and maternity benefits, etc. The Act also provides for certain other welfare amenities like temporary accommodation at or near worksites, creches, canteen, first aid, washing facilities, etc.

The State Government is yet to implement the Act. The promise made by Labour Minister in the State Assembly on 16.8.01 that registered construction workers crossing 60 years would be provided Rs.200 pm has also not been implemented till date.

With the intention of providing protection to the unorganized sector the Tamilnadu Government brought out a comprehensive umbrella legislation called the Tamilnadu Manual Workers (Regulation of employment and Conditions of Work) Act in the year 1982.This Act was enacted to regulate the conditions of work and to provide various welfare measures to the manual workers. This Act provides for formulation of schemes for the workers in the scheduled employments and also for the establishment of a Board for the implementation of the welfare schemes for the workers. As on date, 67 employments have been added to the Schedule of the Act.

Though the Act was passed in the Year 1982, it was only in the year 1994 the Government of Tamilnadu established the Tamilnadu Construction Workers Welfare Board for the welfare of the manual workers employed in the construction industry. The Tamilnadu construction Workers Welfare Scheme 1994 provides for registration of worker by making a payment of Rs.25/- as registration fee. The registered worker is issued an identity card. The registration is valid for a period of two years. The registration is renewed on payment of a renewal fee of Rs.10/-. 5,26,277 workers involved in construction activity have registered with the Boards as on 31.01.2004.

Of this 5,26,277 workers only 26,361 workers have registered themselves with the Board and out of this only 4693 workers have benefited out of these schemes. To contribute to the funds of the Board all the persons and agencies engaged in any construction work should pay 0.3% of the total estimated cost of the proposed construction work to the Board. The contribution to the Board is collected from the individuals and agencies at the time of the approval of the plans for the proposed construction. The contribution is also received from the Government Departments / Undertakings. So far the Board has collected an amount of Rs.70 crores out of which it has spent only an amount of Rs. 9,66,60,150.

The figures clearly show that there is a wide difference in the number registered and the number benefited out of the scheme though there is plenty of money available to implement the scheme. In spite of the fact that Rs.70 crores has been collected as levy by the Board the workers have been denied pensionary benefits.

In continuation of this 'The Tamilnadu Manual Workers Social Security and Welfare Board' was constituted by the Government on 17 – 03 – 1999. In the year 2000 and 2001 the Government constituted nine different Boards for nine categories of unorganized workers. Then the Government constituted two other Boards in 2000 namely the Agricultural Labourers welfare Board and the Village Temple Archagas Board. Further, the Government notified the Tamilnadu Manual Workers' Social Security and Welfare Scheme, on 28.04.99. The Government then replaced the 1999 scheme, by a new scheme called 'Tamilnadu Manual Workers Social Security and Welfare Scheme', 2001. In the new Scheme certain additional benefits are included to the registered workers. In the earlier scheme an initial registration fee of Rs.20/- and a further monthly contribution of Rs.20/- by the workers were to be collected from the workers and in the new scheme this was dispensed with. Under the new scheme it would be enough if the worker pays a one-time

contribution of Rs.100/- and a renewal fee of Rs.10/- once in two years. As on 29-02-2004 - 3,84,846 workers have been registered with the Board but only about 4693 registered workers have benefited from the scheme.

The Government felt that it would not be economically, administratively, and financially viable to have separate welfare Boards for separate employments for administering similar schemes and decided to amalgamate the Tamilnadu Auto Rickshaw and Taxi Drivers Welfare Board and other 8 Welfare Boards with the Tamilnadu Manual Workers Social Security and Welfare Board. A notification containing the proposal for amalgamation of the Boards has been published in the Government Gazette dated 17.12.2003 and in the Tamil Daily on 20.12.2003. Further a proposal for confirmation of the above draft proposal has been sent to Government. Orders from Government are being awaited. The Government initially sanctioned a sum of Rs.40 lakhs as grant to the Welfare Board and subsequently sanctioned an additional amount of Rs.1 Crore as corpus fund common to Tamilnadu Manual Workers Social Security and Welfare Board and other Boards. Apart from the contribution of Rs.100 by the manual worker the employer also has to contribute 3% of the monthly wages of the manual worker to the Board.

However the concept of an "identifiable employer" is difficult for implementation in the case of unorganized sector likes agriculture, and construction, when the system of regular sustained and continued employment of worker by the same employer over a period of time even as short as one month, may not be prevalent. The identification of the workers and employers is itself a very gigantic job and is liable to considerable omissions and evasions, collection of the contributions, month after month from both the workers and employers is even more formidable a job. Also the ten Welfare Boards are sought to be merged into one, ignoring the demands of the unorganised workers. Other than the Construction Workers Welfare Board the applications for assistance in the Manual Workers Welfare Board is gathering dust without enough funds to bedisbursed.

On the whole the Tamilnadu Manual Workers Act has not been implemented properly for the unorganised workers. The Government has failed to regulate employment and working conditions and wages. Also no proper levy collection has been devised for all employments in the unorganised sector.

The assistance given by the Government is only like a dole and is never a permanent solution to the problems of the workers in the unorganized sector.

(i) The liberalised measures though outwardly appearing to have been put up for social justice, have not so far made any dent on inequality and disparity and security of employment, hence, are likely to lead to further exploitation of the already exploited unorganised working class The entire labour machinery of the government devote their time and attention for the organised workers constituting only 8% of the workforce.

(ii) Unlike the statistics of employment of organised workers compiled and published no definite strength of employment of unorganised workmen has been assessed in the state.The term 'unorganised labour' is foreign to the labour laws and it corresponds to unprotected labour who are employed in informal or unorganised sector and are left with no security. Although Government schemes are widespread and are on a large scale, they are not effective in the delievery of social security services to the unorganised sector.

Even after 57 years of independence, unorganised workers remain unprotected and marginalised. To add fuel to the fire policies of globalisation, liberalisation, and mechanisation, have resulted in denial of livelihood, to the workers belonging to the different categories in the unorganized sector.Invisible retrenchment of labour is going on in the unorganized sector because of globalization.

The ill effects of Globalisation, Liberalisation ,mechanisation and privatisation are listed below:

(1) The employment of Poklain for digging and ready mix concrete for roofing in the construction industry has left many workers jobless.

(2) Subsidy cut in the handloom industry, import of yarn and mechanisation have created a considerable job loss.

(3) Building metros into Singapore has resulted in evictions of slum – pavement dwellers and pavement vendors leading to reduction in employment, denial of livelihoods, indebtedness and suicide.

(4) Unorganised sector workers constitute over 92% of the workforce, the percentage is increasing everyday due to massive retrenchments and casualisation of the organised sector.

(5) Use of machines in sowing , ploughing and harvest have rendered the agricultural labourers jobless.

The Government may carefully consider the following points which

would make a marked difference in the benefits provided to the unorganised work force.

1. Right to work, living wages, housing, education, health, child care to be made as fundamental rights and enactment of appropriate laws and implementation of schemes for the realisation of the same.
2. Allotment of 3 percent of Gross Domestic Product for the social security and welfare of unorganised workers by Central and State Governments.
3. Provision of pension to construction and other unorganised workers reaching 50 years.
4. Separate Boards for groups of similar employments. Women's role must be ensured and removal of gender discrimination in provision of benefits.
5. Inclusion of childcare, sweeping, charcoal making, fibre and health in the schedule under TN – Manual Workers Act.
6. Collection of levy and compulsory registration of employer – worker, regulation of employment and wages, provision of ESI, PF and gratuity, constitution of complaints committee on sexual harassment in all the Boards.
7. Under Welfare Scheme.
   (i) Provision of creche at workplaces and living areas of women workers.
   (ii) Housing for all homeless workers.
   (iii) Stipend to all children of workers towards elimination of child labour.
   (iv) Appointment of adequate staff to enable registration, renewals and provision of benefits in one month of application to the district level offices.
8. Implementation of Agricultural Workers Welfare Board through Labour Department.

In one of his judgements given in the Supreme Court Justice Bhagwati held that "right to live with human dignity must include protection of health and strength of workers, men and women and of the tender age of children against abuse, opportunities and facilities for children to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity, educational facilities, just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief. These are the minimum

requirements which must exist in order to enable a person to live with human dignity".

The State thus has a responsibility towards the unorganised sector for obvious reasons.

(1) As a welfare state, the state has to take care of the needs of all its citizens.

(2) Social justice should be the basis of any society and hence it is the duty of the State to address the needs of its deprived citizens.

(3) The unorganized sector contributes to approximately 63% of the countrys GNP. Workers belonging to the unorganised sector are thus the major contributors to the economy and therefore, have the right to demand a return in terms of their needs.

19

The Welfare Measures for the Aged in Tamilnadu

DR.T. KALYANI

Welfare State can be defined in the following manner. 'Any country in which the government has assumed a major responsibility for the economic welfare of the citizen' is a welfare State. The welfare state has to take care of health, education, housing and also income protection and so on. This can be explained as the concept of 'cradle to grave'. This theory of welfare state makes the national government to oblige to take care of the well being of the citizens. Because modern society, particularly industrial society is facing complete problems of inequality, for example unequal income, unequal opportunity and so on. People suffer because of no fault of their own. It is very clear that there is enough wealth, to see that every one has adequate support.

The Welfare State helps the citizens through social benefits programmes. The social welfare programmes provides services to all persons, who fall under a defined category. Here no precious countributor is taken into consideration, including the tax or even agitation or demonstrations not taken into consideration. Their social welfare programmes, provides help to the needy. "Providing assistance to the needy however can be a minor problem in a welfare state if many are eligible for most social benefits."

World Scenario

Great Britain, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Australia, New Zealand, Russia. are considerd as welfare states in the world. Mostly all these countries concentrate on a National Health Service. They provide medical

services free of cost or with minimum cost. This includes health insurance schemes also. And third world countries provide 'family allowances', for upbringing of their children. New Zealand provides unemployment benefits as a form of welfare measure. And also it proves universal pension system, through which people above a certain age receives income support.

Origin of Welfare State:

The term welfare state has been used since World War II. This means the acceptance by the democratic government to take ease of economic and social welfare of people. As seen already it is to provide all sorts of services to the people, for their living. Of course the welfare services could be supplied by the private sector, but which may be costly.

In the 1880's Germany introduced old age and sickness insurance was introduced for wage earners. The National Insurance Act of 1911 of Britain provided unemployment Insurance. In the U.K., in the year 1935 passed the social security Act. This program included subsidized pension for the elderly. It provides workers compensation for wage earners. This helped the spouses of the workers. This act paved the way for the creation of unemployment insurance. Sweden had established health and unemployment and also old age pensions.

The concept of welfare state developed after 1945 because of the experience of two World Wars and following the economic depression. So world over there were national health and social security schemes. Unfortunately the direct support to the poor and elderly that is the important need of modern industrial state is not found in such programmes. Virtually the poor and the aged were depending on the state for their subsistence.

This paper will deal with the problem of Aged in a welfare state, in Tamil Nadu.Aging is an inevitable phenomenon in life of man. Aged person always finds it difficult to adopt them to the changing scenario. They wish to indicate their desire and maintain the same status. So the major question is whether the old age is a blessing or curse.

In Indian context the man is considered aged if he reaches retirement age of 58. In Western countries, they consider 60 to 65 years as aged. In northwestern regions it ranges from 65 to 70 years. The studies on the aged shown that the people of the 60 and above was 42.5 million in 1981 which at present has gone to the level of 60 millions, it will soar to 77 millions.

In our Indian context, the Ashramadharma portrays that the individual who completes (Grahastha) family life enters into the third stage (Vanaprastha)

is the entry into forest or sky where all of them have dedicated for the sake of the common goodness of the people. This is the stand of earlier era. The family man in the society may be hesitant to raise voice against the tyrannical ruler but the Vanaprastha who can easily correct the error of the tyrannical rule and ensure proper rule in the country. Subsequently, invasion of Aryans and other races and finally the culmination of the British rule in India, which has transformed the Indian society. The cultural heritage of India and the imbibement of British culture lead to dysfunction of the society. The normal duty of individual to protect the aged and the needy deviates into self-sustaining system of individual life, both for young and old come into the picture. It creates lot of problems, of which one is the old age.

There are two main factors, which have contributed to the growth of more number of elderly people; They are fertility and the mortality. Due to the decline of fertility and the corresponding mortality rate leads to more number of elderly people.

The birth rate per 1000 persons for India has declined from 47.3 during 1951-61 to 30.3 in 1993 whereas there has been phenomenal decline in the crude death rate per 1000 persons from 28.5 to 10.0 during the same period. Naturally, the more number attracts the attention of policy makers of the government. It is not a distant dream to have reservation of seats for elderly people to Parliament, State Assemblies and Local Bodies as we have now for women and downtrodden.

The elders need assistance in the following areas namely Financial, Physical, Medical, Social, Moral and Spiritual. There are studies reveal that the rural elders are economically more independent than in the counter part urban. It is interesting to note that these elders are included and categorized into the above poverty line, not non-workers. This is the area to contemplate the problem of rural elders. The policy makers should take serious attention to provide necessary assistance at least in old age pension, medical assistance etc to these people, so that they may be relieved from the clutches of hard manual labour at least in their old age.

The breakdown of Joint-family system, modern, technical and information technology etc, have widened the horizon of mind, which resulted early maturity of the younger generation. The net result independent living of young couple who enjoys full freedom without any reservation. The elder people who have observed all the reactions of these people and witnessed all the humilities of the younger people and elders view to lead a self-sustaining

independent life. This is the area of clash or conflict of old age.It unravels so many new perspectives on elders in India.

Social Security Measures in Tamilnadu for the Aged

Social security is not a new concept to India. But at the state level, Social Security is provided through promotional and protective measures. The following are the welfare measures given to the aged:

Pension Benefits for Retired Government Employees
Social security for private organized sector
Social security for the Unorganised sector
Pension for vulnerable groups
Survivor Benefits for Unorganised sector
Marriage and Maternity Assistance for poor women

Pension Benefits for Retired Government Employees

Pension benefits for retired government employees in Tamil Nadu are in the form of pensions, family pensions and retirement benefits such as death-cum-retirement gratuity, encashment of earned leave, etc. With consistent increase in life expectancy, the annual number of new entrants for pension has tended to outstrip annual displacements on account of death. Public expenditure on the payment of pension and other retirement benefits has steadily increased over the years, from Rs 4.01 billion in 1991-2 to Rs 25.78 billion in 2000-1 at current prices, as the number of pensioners has increased from 230,000 in1991-2 to 413,000 in 2000-1. Expenditure estimated to go up to a staggering Rs 138.61 billion in 2010, constituting 15 percent of revenue expenditure.

District Level Ageing Profile

Looking at the district-level ageing profile based on the 1991 Census (data for erstwhile 21 composite districts), five districts, namely Kancheepuram, Cuddalore, Salem, Tiruchirappalli and Thanjavur had more than 300,000 people of age 60+. Salem had the highest number of 80+ people, namely 34,000, and the Nilgiris had the lowest of 3000.

The proportion of 60+ elderly population, both males and females, as per the 1991 census, was 7.45 percent. The districts above the State average for both males and females were Erode (9.34 percent), Thoothukudi (8,=.36 percent), Tirunelveli (8.33 percent), Salem (8.24 percent), Kanniyakumari (8.19 percent), Sivagangai (8.14 percent), Coimbatore (8.08 percent), Tiruvannamali (7.71 percent) and Tiruchirappalli (7.67 percent).

Dependency Ratios

The ratios of persons aged 60 and over to persons aged 15-59 is called the aged dependency ratio and is the most common type of social dependency ratio. The youth dependency ratio was 63.08 per cent in 1961 but declined to 50.15 per cent in 1991.

The index of ageing is intended to measure the structure of dependency, that is the proportion of population aged 60 and above to the population aged 0-14. the number of persons aged 60 years and above for 100 persons under 15 years of age (index of ageing) was 15.63 per cent in 1961 but increased to 24.19 per cent in 1991. the increase was just 2.7 percentage points between 1961-81 but was 5.87 percentage points between 1981-91, indicating the acceleration of the ageing index in Tamil Nadu. Based on census projections by age group, the aged dependency ratio has been put at 13.12 and the index of ageing at 32.07, showing a further increase of 7.88 percentage points from 1991.

Data for districts have shown that the highest dependency ratio (rural plus urban) was in Erode district at 144/1000 followed by Thoothukudi with 141, Tirunelveli with 139, Sivagangai with 135 and Kanniyakumari and Tiruvanamalai with 134. Even in the rural areas, the highest dependency ratio was in Thoothukudi with 159, followed by Erode with 156, Tirunelveli and Coimbatore with 143, Sivagangai with 142 and Salem with 140.

Financial Security for the Aged Poor

Though the ageing of population is an obvious consequence of the progress of demographic transition, it has brought to the fore the financial insecurity among the aged.

Tamil Nadu in 1962 introduced with an OAP Scheme for the physically handicapped. The 1980s saw the introduction of two more pension schemes- one for deserted wives and another for destitute agricultural labourers. Except for the first scheme, which shall be referred to as OAP (Normal), all the other schemes were not primarily meant for the elderly, thought the elderly satisfying the eligibility criteria, could obtain pension from the latter four schemes. Therefore, there is a certain overlap between OAP (Normal) and the rest of the four schemes. The details, such as the year of introduction, age eligibility, common and additional criteria, rate of pension and other benefits of the OAP schemes.When the OAP scheme was introduced in 1962, the rate of pension per beneficiary was Rs.20. It underwent revision in subsequent years. Since 1996, the Government of India has started contributing to the pension amount.

While out of Rs 100 per beneficiary, its share was Rs 75, at present; the rate of pension per beneficiary is Rs 200, (Rs 75 by the Government of India + Rs 125 by the State).

Other benefits are under free supply of dhotis and sarees, one dhoti to each male and one saree to each female are given on two occasions in a year, that is, during Pongal and Deepavali festivals. Free supply of rice to OAPs was introduced in 1980. From 1997, old age pensioners who take meals in the NMP centers get 2 kg of rice free. Those who do not take meals get 4 kg of rice per month free.

The data for Tamil Nadu show that the number of beneficiaries in all the five categories of old age pension schemes in the 60+ age group increased from 348,480 in 1995-6 to 506.8655 in 1999-2000.The number of OAP (Normal) beneficiaries in Chennai City, Vellore, Thiruvannamalai, Thanjavur and Madurai districts is higher than the State average by 20 per cent or more.Medium poverty districts such as Kancheepurum, Salem, Pudukottai and Dharmapurai have a coverage ratio higher than the State average.

Gender Dimensions of Ageing and Social Security

The 1991 Census data have shown that there are more male elderly people (2.16 million) than female (2 million). The proportion of the male elderly population is greater than that of the females in all districts.Looking at the above in the context of social security for the elderly, there were more women than men OAP (Normal) beneficiaries in 1999-2000, that is 245,000 women vis-à-vis 150,000 men.

Health Care, Housing and Other Social Services for the Elderly Ilness

With advancing age, the elderly are afflicted by perennial health problems and chronic diseases and illnesses, sometimes of a multiple nature. As a result, their functional capacity often gets affected due to the impairment of vision, hearing and movement. Hence, they require special medical and nursing care and long-term management of illnesses at home and in medical institutions.Major diseases like blood pressure, heart disease and diabetes among the elderly are more prevalent in urban areas as compared to rural areas due perhaps to urban lifestyles. National Sample Survey Organization data from the 52nd Round (1995-6) reveal that the prevalence of chronic diseases is higher among men than among women, in both rural and urban areas.

There are also age-specific diseases, which affect the elderly such as dementia. In addition, the high prevalence of multiple co-existing physical

conditions, such as incontinence, hip fracture and sensory loss, influence mental health through the loss of self-esteem and independence. Moreover, changes in social patterns alter the role of the elderly and the ways in which they are valued. These changes can lead to poor mental health outcomes, such as depression, anxiety and even suicide.

While no comprehensive studies are currently available in Tamil Nadu on the morbidity pattern among the elderly persons, a study conducted at the national level by the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) on the disabilities of the geriatic population found that 88 per cent have visual problems, 40 per cent locomotive difficulties, 18.7 per cent suffer from neurological problems and 8.1 per cent from psychiatric difficulties. Another ICMR study found that 20.74 per cent were manic-depressive. What can be said about Tamil Nadu is that it has one of the lowest prevalence rates of physical (not other) disabilities in both urban and rural areas.

Institutional Care

While the State has a responsibility to take care of the elderly through the public health system, a very good system is not in place. Geriatric medicine, as a speciality department, is available only in the Government General Hospital in Chennai. While private hospitals cater more to the elderly, the costs are very high which prevent both the urban and rural poor from accessing these hospitals. All of these have put a serious barrier to the access of the poor to geriatic care.

Institutional care for the elderly is, mainly provided by voluntary non-profit organizations such as religious charitable organizations. The Madras Institute of Ageing, in a monograph entitled 'Care for Elderly'(1989), listed 329 institutions all over the country which are involved in taking care of the elderly. According to this study, Tamil Nadu have more elderly care institutions than other States in India, 71 old age homes are in Tamil Nadu.

Old age homes are still required for the poor aged and for the sick and handicapped elderly. Even for the non-poor, the number of old age homes is too few and these are very often crowded. There is also greater need for day centers because children and grandchildren cannot leave the elderly alone at home when they go out to work.

A more long-term policy is also needed. With a staggering ageing population in Tamil Nadu, provision of health care for the aged at the PHC level has to be though of. Doctors as well as paramedical staff in PHCs have to be imparted training in geriatric care so that basic disorders among the aged can be attended to at that level.

Institutional care has to be supplemented by social security. Until recently, there was no social security scheme to provide medical care to people after their retirement from service. Recently there have been attempts to extend social security benefits to retired government officials at least. The Central Government Health Service Scheme and the Employees State Insurance (ESI) scheme have been extended to Central Government hospitals.

Public sector insurance companies have mediclaim policies but these are generally targeted at the elderly belonging to the middle-income groups who have regular income. Most of the schemes offer no medical insurance for those beyond 70 years of age. It is this group, which is in greater, need of Medicare than others. But the rate of premium is higher for this age group and that too in a period when there is a fall in income. With the opening up of the insurance sector to joint ventures from overseas insurance companies, it is possible that appropriate schemes will be develop to meet the needs of the aged.

As illustrated above, the demographic transition that has taken place during the last two decades has created an imbalance in the age structure of the population, namely the elderly constitute an increasing share of the population today. These demographic changes have been accompanied by socio-economic changes such as the emergance of nuclear families, erosion of traditional family systems and changing values of the younger generation vis-à-vis the elderly. These changes have serious implications for the elderly. Their needs must be assessed in terms of physical and mental health. The broad features of policy should address geriatric care in general (health security), financial concerns (social security) and institutional support. Policy imperatives for each of these are highlighted below.

Health Security

Government hospitals need to have geriatric wards with a geriatric specialist. Further, elderly outpatients should receive priority attention from doctors so that they do not have to wait in long queues.

There should be integrated care addressing both the physical and mental needs of the elderly. Since the elderly are more likely to seek treatment for physical disorders than for mental problems, any attempt to treat mental disorders will be most effective, if it is part of the existing system to treat physical ailments. This would also be cheaper.

Primary health center doctors and paramedical staff should be given basic training in the treatment of the elderly. Bare-foot doctor programmes

should be evolved in which paramedics conduct house-to-house visits to screen physical and mental health problems of the elderly particularly in rural areas.

Multi-purpose day care centers that offer recreational facilities and other services such as medical screening and counseling, both for the elderly and their families, should be established.Research is needed to develop acceptable programmes of care to meet the demands for long-term, including home care and institutional care. Epidemiological studies are required on the prevalence and incidence of major illnesses of the elderly in Tamil Nadu, so as to develop appropriate care systems.

Social Security for the Aged

According to one estimate, the proportionate share of the elderly to the State's total population is projected to increase to 11.43 per cent by 2011. The projected increase in the population of the aged is next only to that of Kerala. The ageing of the population is due to an increase in longevity and fall in the death rate because of better health care services and improvement in the general standard of living. Due to the slow break-up of the joint family system consequent to rural-urban migration in particular, the responsibility for the welfare of the elderly is increasingly falling on the community and the State. The aged need not only income security but also health security. Geriatric care is yet to become a full-fledged discipline in hospitals except in major cities. The aged also need emotional security, as they feel lonely, helpless and unwanted by society. They need an environment where they can live with dignity and self-respect. Social security for the elderly would, therefore, have to be holistic, not limited to providing financial security through old age pensions.

Conclusion

The aged are taken into account as the authentic source for historic research, but the personal problems of the aged are not taken into the proper perspective. It varies from country to country. The aged are taken into the fold of welfare measures of the Government and adequate protection is offered in the name of old age homes, old age pensions like that in developed countries. Of course, in a under developed countries, all are problems, so aged is one of the problems of the country. In a developing country like India, aged problems have not reached to the rural India.

In India, aged problem is a middle class phobia. It has not reached to the lower stratum of society and the higher ups. The higher ups in the society are secluded and lead in an independent life and the same life in a modified form continues in the old age also. The lower class, a valve-oriented class

giving protection to the aged. It takes care of all the problems of the society. So there is no problem. The middle class in the name of savings for retired life and mobilizing property for getting up due respect after retirement are competitively going on.

The small kids are nourished in crèches and escorted by Aayaas, the traditional role of aged is bypassed. The mechanic life of Industrial Society is able to spend weekends and dating are the relaxation of the younger generation. The elderly care of the younger people and the experience and achievements of elders is no way form the basis for the life of the younger. The net result there is a wide gap between aged and the younger. This leads to lot of problems. The so called aged requirements of economic, physical, social, psychological, medical, spiritual factors are not duly attended. This must be avoided by leading the old pattern of livelihood not necessarily through joint family system and the values enjoyed by the rural India must be restored. In a cyclical life, respect, love help, attachment etc are mutually intertwined and must be continued conscioulsly.

The government of Tamilnadu has taken a series of measures to look after the aged. The evalution of services rendered by the government needs deep insights, but here we can conclude that in addition to the material benefits,the spiritual outlook also needs special attention.

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20

Water Battle Vs Health Crisis The Plight of a Mega City - Chennai

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"If the wars of this century were fought over oil, the Wars of the next century will be fought over water."

Ismail Serageldin, Vice-President of World Bank, 1995

Introduction

Water is an element that is fundamental to so many aspects of life and of the natural environment. Water has indeed a greater role to play in socio-economic and cultural development of human population. In most countries of the world now, water is fast becoming a scarce resource. Water shortage and pollution has constrained development in general and food production in particular. Without water security, there cannot be food and energy security.[1]

In a Welfare State like India, provision of essential services like safe drinking water is an important duty of the State towards its citizen. Provision of adequate and safe water will eliminate diseases, promote rural development and improve quality of people. As it is known, Health and Wealth of the nation depends upon health of its people. The WHO defines "health as a state of physical, mental and social well being of people". Health is not only an issue of social justice, but a fundamental Right, so also is, safe drinking water a fundamental right.

An overview of global resource shows that over 97% of the earth's water is saline. Of the 3% remaining 79% are stored in ice caps or high mountain glaciers, 20% are in ground water and barely 1% is in easily

accessible surface freshwater.[2] The share of freshwater being less, it necessitates the realization for conserving water. Malin Falkenmark a hydrologist, and his colleagues have calculated that, once a country's available water resources drop below 1,700 cubic meters per person per year, the country can be expected to experience regular water stress. If the amount of water available per capita drops below 500 cubic meters per person per year, countries face conditions of absolute water scarcity.[3]

The water, which is available for human consumption, should be safe and wholesome. This has been defined as water that is

- Free from pathogenic agents,
- Free from harmful chemical substances,
- Pleasant to taste, i.e., free from color and odor; and
- Usable for domestic purposes.

In recent times water scarcity has become an important consequence on well-being. Acute shortages of water has forced people to economize water and by reducing the standards of hygiene which leads to bacteriological contamination, causing diarrhea or other diseases. Water scarcity also coexists with a transfer of water to non-human consumption uses such as agriculture, industry or other luxury uses. The water woes are now affecting a number of countries in Asia, especially Tamilnadu in India. A limited access to adequate water is one of the leading factors limiting development in India.

According to the new United Nations projection, it is conceived that India will not cross the water stress benchmark until 2035- and then it would return to a state of relative water sufficiency by 2045 as a result of declining population growth. On the other hand, slower population growth than previously projected may reduce the threat of water shortages and allow more time to develop conservation strategies in India, Pakistan, Jordan, Sri Lanka and El Salvador, the study found.[4]

With the growing alarm around the scarcity of water worldwide—a crisis is only expected to get worse. There will be fierce battles for who should take control of this precious resource within the country and between countries.

Sources of Water

With a population that is 16% of the World's, India has 2.45 per cent of the World's land resources and 4 percent of its water resources. India is not

a water scarce country and ranks among the top ten water rich countries in the world according to data from World Resources 2000-2001.[5]

According to the report published by the National Commission of Integrated Water Resource Development Plan set up by the Ministry of Water Resources, the total water resources for India that can be considered usable come to only 1,086 billion cubic metres (bcm). This includes both river and other freshwater resources (690 bcm) and replenishes able ground water (396 bcm). This is the total water available for the use of one billion Indians. This water is consumed for irrigation, domestic use, industry, power plants and inland navigation. The bulk of this water, over 85%, is used for agriculture, 5% is used for domestic consumption, industry uses another 4%, power plants get around three percent, 1% is used in inland navigation and the rest is lost in evaporation, which may not necessarily contribute to rainfall in the same area.[6]

In Tamilnadu about 33% of the State's annual rainfall is from southwest monsoon and 48% from north east monsoon. Rainfall is the main source of water increasing the levels of ground water. Many regions are located on the coastline wherein seawater leads to corrosion of metals and erodes the rocks on the seashore.

The annual distribution is shown in the table below:

Season	**Month**	**Normal Rainfall rainfall (MM)**	**%age of annual**
Winter Rain	Jan- Feb	47	4.82 %
Summer Rain	Mar- May	138	14.12 %
S. W Monsoon	Jun- Sept	322	32.96 %
N.E Monsoon	Oct- Dec	470	48.10 %
Average Rainfall	-	**977**	**100 %**

(Source- Harvesting A dream- TN CM's initiative on Rain Water Harvesting becomes a people's movement, The Times Group, An Economic Times Presentation)

Although the city receives rain during both the monsoons, it is the northeast monsoon that replenishes its reservoirs, which also receive the surface run-off from the Araniyar and the Kortalaiyar rivers. These reservoirs are shallow *(Poondi is 2.2 metres deep, Sholavaram 3.4 m, and Red Hills 3.8 m)* and are spread over a total catchment area of 3,513 sq km. In years of normal rainfall, about 200 million litres a day (mld) can be drawn from them. Poondi's capacity is 76.7 million cubic metres (mcm), Sholavaram's 22.5 mcm and Red Hills' 71 mcm. The public water distribution system meets 65 per cent of

the city's needs, sources such as wells 21 per cent, community facilities *(mainly India Mark 2 deep handpumps and open public wells)* 10 per cent and private sources 4 per cent. About 92 per cent of the city is piped. Since 1978, water has also been supplied by tankers to the needy areas from one of the three headworks in the city.[7]

The water supply to Chennai during years of normal rainfall is around 313 mld (78 litres per capita a day, or lpcd). But during the drought years availability has been as low as 127 mld *(32 lpcd)*. According to a study undertaken in 1993 by the Centre for Environment Planning and Technology, Ahmedabad, while the average gross availability of water was 69 lpcd, it was 8 lpcd in the slums.[8]

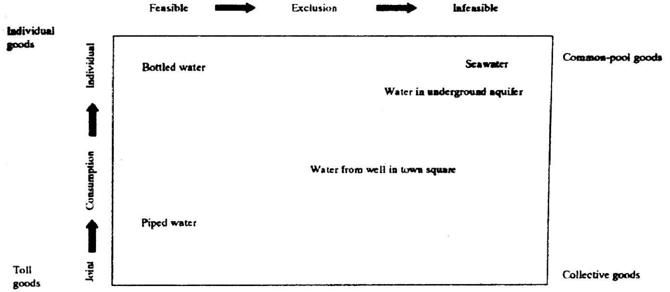
Groundwater is the city's major water source now. It is drawn mainly from the well-fields in the Araniyar-Kortalaiyar basin and the aquifer between Tiruvanmiyur and Muttukadu along the coast south of Chennai. The well-fields yield 148 mld and the southern aquifer supplies 10 mld. There are a number of minor well-fields and individual wells. The other sources of groundwater are 5,759 tubewells, 35 open wells operated by municipal corporations in the suburbs and 4,700 hand pumps. According to the Census of 1991, there are about two lakh private wells in the city.[9]

The ground water level in Chennai has been subjected to continuous decline in the past four years as a result of deficit rainfall. Chennai gets an average 1,300 mm of rainfall every year, which is higher than the national average of 800mm. The quantity of rainfall received by the city with an area of 174 sq. km is approximately 2,22,000 million litres. But this rainfall occurs in short spells of few days and nearly 65 percent of the rainfall is lost due to surface runoff and evaporation. Since 100 per cent of rainwater does not go into recharging the ground water and at more realistic 25 per cent collection efficiency, the gap between the availability and consumption is huge, approximately 690 MLD.[10] The deterioration in ground water levels can be attributed to a variety of reasons: the failure of monsoons, over exploitation of water and lack of rainwater harvesting.

Demand for Water

In many developing countries, like India with colonial pasts the command and control of the economy is dominated by government agencies. They produce four idealized types of goods and services. The important goods are individual goods, Toll goods, Common- pool goods and Collective goods. The Figure1 below shows how water, as a good is available and is distributed for consumption.

Figure 1- Exclusion and consumption properties of water supply services



Source – E.S. Savas , Privatization and Public Private Partnerships, Affiliated East West Press Pvt Ltd, New Delhi.2001.

Water in an underground aquifer is a common pool good, free to be tapped by any well digger who owns a tiny parcel of land above it, but once it is brought into a water distribution system, it becomes a toll good. Rivers, lakes, and other waterways are common pool goods of sorts, whether they are used for transportation, as sources of water, or to dispose off waste material. They are decidedly impure common- pool goods because exclusion is not impossible.[11]

Whereas Public Health measures such as preventing the spread of communicable diseases are obviously collective goods. The long exercise in classifying goods and services make it evident that the nature of the good- individual, toll, common- pool, or collective- determines the willingness of producers to supply it. Hence the nature of the good determines whether or not collective intervention is needed to procure the good in satisfactory quantity and quality.[12]

The fast changing pace of industrialization and urbanization has increased consumption levels in different uses. Basically, the demand for water is for 1) Domestic Use: On the domestic front, water is required for drinking, cooking, washing and bathing, flushing of toilets, gardening etc 2) Public Purposes: Cleaning Streets, recreating purposes like swimming pools, public fountain and ornamental ponds, fire protection and public parks.3) Industrial Purposes for processing and cooking 4) Agricultural purpose: Irrigation 5) Power Production from hydropower and steam power and 6) Carrying away waste from all manner of establishments and institutions. In India only 85%

of the urban and 79% of the rural population, have access to safe drinking water and fewer have access to adequate sanitation facilities.[13]

The basic physiological requirements for drinking water have been estimated at about 2 litres per head per day. This is just for survival. From the standpoint of Public health and improvement of the quality of life, water should be provided in adequate volume. The average need for water is about 80 litres per capita per day (lpcd) in India, excluding what is used for drinking and cooking.[14] In India 40 Litres of water per capita per day is the set target to be achieved by the end of the 8th five-year plan. The ninth Five year Plan emphasized the importance of the basic minimum services of providing safe drinking water and primary health care facilities.

On the utility side, the agricultural sector in India continues to dominate water use owing to its continued importance to the Indian economy, while industrial demands are increasing, as the sector continues to grow. Domestic needs claim only a small portion of the annual water withdrawals as access to adequate water and sanitation supplies remains low throughout most of the country. Greater access and an improvement in the socio-economic situation in rural India will likely result in higher demand for water from this sector in the coming years. Demand from the domestic sector has remained low and accounts for only 5% of the annual freshwater withdrawals in India.[15] Domestic water use will increase as the population continues to grow and access to water is improved. Recent data from the World Bank indicates that demand over the next twenty years will double from 25 billion m3 to 52 billion m3.

Water Scarcity and its related consequences in Chennai

The water shortage in Chennai is an old phenomenon, since this situation has risen even during the British time in India. The Settlement of the English at Madras was a haphazard affair. From the beginning, water supply was one of its chief problems; and when, after a century rolled a capital city developed there, the state of things as regards water went on deteriorating for another century until a partial solution was obtained in 1872.[16] During the time of independence. Tamilnadu had around 10000 lakes with regular flow of water. Today, the picture is contrary in different parts of Tamilnadu, including Chennai. From the summers of 1993, 2000 and 2001, water-scarce Chennai is in crisis mode. Water has become scarce in Chennai because of the following conditions:

- Fresh water sources in the peripheral areas are being heavily exploited to meet the ever –increasing demands of the urban population,

- The rapid rate of urbanization has reduced the availability of open surfaces for natural recharge of rainwater,
- Large scale extraction has resulted in the depletion of the water table, resulting in the drying of wells,
- Dependence on ground water increases during periods of low rainfall,
- The failure of the monsoon has precipitated the crisis.
- Excessive pumping of groundwater for agriculture in Tamil Nadu, one of India's southern states caused the water table to drop close to 30 meters in a decade.[17]
- Spurting construction activities in the city has increased the demand for water.

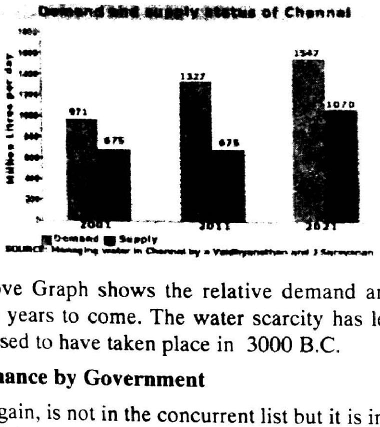
The sources of water for Chennai people has reduced because of indiscriminate use of water from Poondi, Redhills, Sholavaram, Tamaraipakkam, Kannagiper, Panjetty, Minjur and Perungudi lake. Poondi and Sholavaram are purely rain fed lakes. The Perungudi lake water has become spoilt because the dwellers use the water for washing.[18] Inspite of desilting process, the ground water is also bound to get contaminated. The ground water in Araniyur- Kortalaiyur basin and Thiruvanmiyur – Muthukadu are also drying out .Perungudi used to receive water from Palavakkam, but it was not continued due to water scarcity. The population in this area has increased from 9709 in 1991 to 23481 in 2001. The number of property in this area has increased from 2060 in 1991 to 3645 in 2003.[19] This provides an idea about the nature of problem, which is similar in many parts of the city. Ground Water is transported to Chennai from locations around the city viz., Kannigaiper, Valliyur, Minjur, Poonnamallee, Mamandur etc. by purchasing water from private agricultural wells.

In TN, Pondicherry, Daman, Diu, Lakshwadeep the saline intrusion was greater because of prodigious levels of ground water extraction. According to a World Bank study, of the 27 Asian cities with populations of over 1,000,000, Chennai and Delhi are ranked as the worst performing metropolitan cities in terms of hours of water availability per day, while Mumbai is ranked as second worst performer and Calcutta fourth worst.[20] Further Chennai has to bring in water from a distance of 200 km whereas Bangalore gets its water from the Cauvery river, which is 95 km away.

In a study undertaken by the Confederation of Indian Industry and the World Bank in 2003, to find out what constituted good investment climate in

various parts of India, it was found that water availability is one of the major infrastructural bottlenecks companies in Tamil Nadu face. The study covered 1,099 manufacturing companies in four sectors - textiles, garments, consumer electronics and pharmaceuticals - in 10 states and listed water as one of the major bottlenecks for future industrial growth in the country.

According to Central Public Health Engineering Organisation (CPHEEO) estimates, as on 31 March 2000, there is low pressures and intermittent supplies of water to urban areas which resulted in contamination of water in the distribution network. Water is typically available for only 2-8 hours a day . The situation is even worse in summer when water is available only for a few minutes, sometimes not at all.



The above Graph shows the relative demand and supply status of Chennai in the years to come. The water scarcity has led to water conflict which is supposed to have taken place in 3000 B.C.

Water Governance by Government

Water again, is not in the concurrent list but it is in both the Union list and State List. It is the duty of the State to protect water resources and systems, legislate water, promote resource conservation, ensure fairness and social justice, regulate the use of water from diverse sources, where necessary, undertake the provision of the water infrastructure, prevent or resolve conflicts, oversee quality, enter into treaties or agreements with neighboring countries over common river systems and so on.[21]

The management of India's water resources falls under the jurisdiction of a number of government agencies, although the primary responsibility for the development of water belongs to the individual States. The Central government oversees the implementation of national policy on resource development and exploitation, as well as manages inter-state and international

rivers and river valleys. It also provides technical advice to individual States on development, flood control, navigation, coastal erosion, dam safety, navigation and hydropower, if required.

In 1987, the newly formed National Water Resources Council adopted the National Water Policy (NWP) and submitted the document to Parliament for implementation. The NWP is the primary document stating the position of the Government of India (GOI) on water resource issues ranging from drought and flood management to drinking water provision. As stated in the NWP: "*As the country prepares itself to enter the 21st century, efforts to develop, conserve, utilise and manage this important resource have to be guided by national perspectives. The need for a national water policy is thus abundantly clear: water is a scarce and precious national resource to be planned, developed and conserved as such, and on an integrated and environmentally sound basis, keeping in view the needs of the States concerned.*"

Acts and Regulations

Water in India is governed under three different Acts: the Environmental Protection Act (1986), the River Boards Act (1956) and the Inter-State Water Disputes Act (1956). Other Acts and Regulations affect water resources in different ways by addressing its importance for agriculture, biodiversity and conservation and drinking water. These three Acts, have an impact in all aspects of water management.

The regulation and development of inter-state rivers and river valleys was to be entrusted to various River Boards when this Act was ratified in 1956. The River Boards are designed to advise the central government on development opportunities, co-ordinate activities and resolve disputes.

Water Management In Chennai

Even though the rate of urbanisation in India is among the lowest in the world, the nation has more than 250 million city-dwellers. Experts predict that this number will rise even further, and by 2020, about 50 per cent of India's population will be living in cities. This is going to put further pressure on the already strained centralised water supply systems of urban areas. Due to this, the urban water supply and sanitation sector in the country is suffering from inadequate levels of service, an increasing demand-supply gap, poor sanitary conditions and deteriorating financial and technical performance.

In Chennai City, water is supplied by Metro Water Board, a State government Board. The Municipal Corporation of Chennai supplies is for nine towns adjoining Chennai. It was in 1978 that the water supply and

sanitation functions were moved from Chennai Corporation to the State Government board, namely the Metro Water Board. The MWB is accountable (through State legislature) to the entire population of TamilNadu State (approximately 50 million) rather than to the people of Chennai (6 million) though it supplies water to people of Chennai city and few adjoining areas.(out of 234 members 14 are from Chennai city). The MWB has a citizens Charter to be responsive to its consumers.

In 1987 the State government enacted the Chennai Metropolitan Area Groundwater (Regulation) Act, 1987, giving additional regulatory powers to the MWB. It is the duty of Water supply department to solve water quality problems, prevent or control pollution and contamination. CMWSSB, or Metrowater, the government agency that is responsible for supplying water to Chennai, supplies 250 mld, including 50 mld for industrial use, every day. Nearly half of this comes from the wells operated by it (70 mld) and those it has hired in Tiruvallur district (30 mld, which is to be increased to 60 mld). Metrowater has added 1,075 storage tanks to the existing 2,525 in order to meet the current water crisis. Water is distributed by over 300 tankers that make over 2,000 trips every day. In order to ensure effective distribution, Metrowater has commissioned filling points at six distribution stations in the past three months. The Southern Railway runs 'water specials' to Chennai from Chengalpattu and Erode. Each train carries 10 lakh litres in 50 wagons every day.

The rapid growth of the city's population has strained the water supply systems. In 1911, when most of these systems were designed, its population was only about five lakhs. The present population is 55 lakhs. Efforts to tap the groundwater resources started in 1965. Six well-fields were commissioned between 1965 and 1987. In early 2000, 17 deep borewells were dug and 13 deepened. This is in addition to the existing 49 deep-borewells. According to C.P. Singh, the outgoing Managing Director of Metrowater, the board has commissioned a study, "*The Second Chennai Plan*," to explore the possibility of augmenting the sources of groundwater and tapping the run-off water in the Araniyar-Kortalaiyar river basin.

The city's annual agony is unlikely to end unless other options are explored. Chief Minister Jayalalitha has promised to provide "*potable water to all citizens*". The new government has also promised to revive the Veeranam Water Supply Scheme that was launched in 1968 to bring water from the Veeranam lake, about 250 km from Chennai, desilt tanks, and construct reservoirs at Ramanjeri and Thirukandalam on the outskirts of Chennai, as

part of the second phase of the Krishna River Water Project, which is popularly known as the Telugu Ganga project.

The present government has amended the Ground Water Act, for instance there was inclusion of 59 revenue villages in the Taluks of Uthukotai, Ponneri, Tambaram, Sriperumbudur. A penalty of Rs 2000 to 5000 should be paid in case of violation of the law. There are also restrictions on the depth of borewells. Rainharvesting has been made mandatory. Further in all public buildings and general buildings the available brackish water is treated locally.

To accrue better accessibility of water to Chennai, the Chennai Corporation has taken up sixteen waterways within the city for desiltation. The state government is generating data on number of wells and pumps to estimate the extent of private extraction of ground water, and tighten water use. To utilize indigenous sources efforts were taken to bring water from Neyveli, Erode, Mettur, Tiruneveli, from 13 July 2001. Palar from 26 July 2001 and from Veeranam from 19 August 2001.[22]

Causes for Water Battle

The Scarcity of water has created friction between people. It also developed discrimination and differences among people. The commodification of water has further created a conflict between affordability and poverty. According to World Bank (1998), in India the distribution of access to water and sanitation varies according to income categories. The wealthier have far better access to piped and other exclusive sources of water than the poor. The Urban population in Chennai, due to irregular water supply, resort to clashes among them. There is also a raging conflict between Agricultural and urban areas to get their share of water.

The water-based battle basically arises because of the conflict,

- Between drinking water needs and the demands for agriculture,
- Between agricultural and industrial demands for water,
- Between rural and urban needs,
- Between different groups or sections within an irrigation command,
- Between those who are displaced or otherwise adversely affected by a project and those who benefit from it,
- Between the latter and those who suffer the consequences of reduced flows in the river downstream of a dam.[23]
- There is illegal pumping of water from canals and riverbed in Chennai. [24]

- There is Marketisation of Water because of less rainfall and lesser receipt of water from Cauvery and Krishna source.
- Conflict between affordability and real need. The households and the poor need water for their daily subsistence. The people do resort to buy water for any prices and store it for other uneconomical purpose.

To make optimum utilization of the scarcity situation, the suppliers of drinking water in the city are doing brisk business and bringing the water table down in the process. More number of persons are taking up this lucrative business, prices are coming down.[25] To cite the practical conditions prevailing in Chennai alone, more than 200 legal and 400 illegal bottled water manufacturers operate. India's packaged water industry, which is barely a decade old, is already a Rs. 8 billion ($170 million) market, and is expected to grow to Rs. 12 billion ($250 million) by 2004.[26] Brand names such as Coke's Kinley, Pepsi's Aquafina and the Indian bottled water giant Parle's Bisleri enjoy a Rs. 4 billion ($85 million) market, according to the Coke official.

Therefore the institutions and individuals need to have a collective look at the critical issues concerning water scarcity through international, regional, national and local water strategies.

Water sharing to end Water Battle

The policy response to water scarcity should focus on moving more water to regions suffering from water scarcity, like when there is a shortage in supply of food, so also supply of water.(Dreze and Sen, 1989,85)

A shortage of water leads to major conflicts around the world. Over twenty countries depend on the flows of water from other nations for much of their water supply. Jean-Jacques Rousseau had opined, "*Water does not 'belong' to any one person or one country, but to humankind*".

Water Sharing among South Indian States

The State government has given due consideration to bring water to Chennai from distant sources. In 1983, an agreement was signed with the neighboring State of Andhra Pradesh to draw 12 TMC ft of water from river Krishna (Govt of TN, 1983). In September 1996 , the first phase of this project was inaugurated and about 3 TMC ft or roughly 200 million liter per day (MCD) has been added . Kerala and Tamilnadu resolve to share water through Parambikulam- Aliyar Project.

As far as benefit to the water scarce region is concerned, such benefit of sharing of water from a surplus region to a deficit region will be incidental

to the very purpose of water sharing. Also, if such benefit is based upon consumptive use of water, which will mostly be the case, it will be at the cost of the benefit to the water-deficit region. Moreover, such benefit has also to be viewed in the perspective of possible dis-benefits and adverse effects on the intermediate region.[27]

The sharing of water would not only improve water status but also promote welfare of people, since water is a ' *common pool resource.*" The development in science and technology has changed all the facets of life. Yet one thing remains unattainable, that is existence of peace and security. People have yet to realize and embrace the feeling of living in harmony and mutual co-existence.

Water and Health Crisis

The health improvements of the past few decades in India have done much to enhance human welfare, both directly and indirectly. But much more remains to be done, in the event of prolonged water scarcity. The prevalence and spread of communicable diseases are common in this situation. Since water is an important contributory factor in the utilization of manpower, the Planning Commission gave considerable importance to health programmes in the five year plans. For purpose of planning, the health sector has been divided into the following sub sectors.[28]

- Water Supply and Sanitation
- Control of communicable diseases
- Medical Education , training , research
- Medical Care including hospitals, dispensaries and primary health centres.
- Public Health Services
- Family Planning
- Indigeneous Systems of Medicine

In the present day world, the contamination of available fresh water resources has led to increasing health problems, and hence health costs. The waste water irrigation has negative impacts on health. The organic pollutants, heavy metals and carcinogens, enter the food chain in the irrigation process and affects the human health.

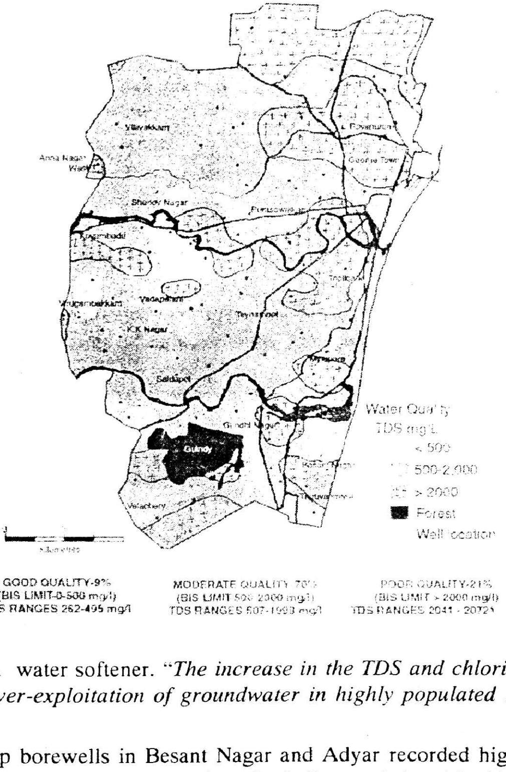
The Water-based diseases are caused by aquatic organisms that spend part of their life cycle in the water and another part as parasites of animals. These organisms can thrive in either polluted or unpolluted water. As parasites,

they usually take the form of worms, using intermediate animal vectors such as snails to thrive, and then directly infecting humans either by boring through the skin or by being swallowed. The prevalence of water-based diseases often increases when dams are constructed, because the stagnant water behind dams is ideal for snails, the intermediary host for many types of worms.

The quality of water, whether it is used for drinking, irrigation or recreational purposes, is significant for health in both developing and developed countries worldwide. Diarrhoeal disease alone amounted to an estimated 4.3 % (62.5 million DALYs) of the total DALY global burden of disease (WHO, 2002). It was estimated that 88% of that burden is attributable to Unsafe Water Supply, sanitation and hygiene and is mostly concentrated on children in developing countries.

To cite the latest cause for water crisis is the poor rainfall in the year 2003 (738 mm as against the normal rainfall of 1267 mm) — the third lowest recorded in the past 100 years. It has turned the focus on the groundwater table. Only nine per cent of the city's groundwater is of good quality, says a recent study by the State Ground and Surface Water Resources Data Centre. The finding is based on collected data obtained from samples from 110 test wells, including boreholes and hand pumps in three broad zones — the southern side of Adyar River, areas between Adyar and Cooum and areas north of Cooum River. The TDS (Total Dissolved Solids) levels were found to be far higher than the healthy limit of about 500 mg per litre(mg/l). [29]

The samples collected from the wells were also tested for several water quality parameters such as odour, turbidity, alkalinity and calcium content. Water in almost all areas was of moderate quality with the TDS level ranging between 500 mg/l - 2000 mg/l (mg per litre). Only in certain parts, including pockets of Besant Nagar, Thiruvanmiyur, Arumbakkam, Choolaimedu, Virugambakkam and Shenoy Nagar, water was found to be of good quality. The quality was poor in areas such as Royapuram, Kodambakkam, Broadway, Gandhi Nagar, Toll Gate, Chintadripet and Velachery, with TDS level ranging between 2041 mg/l and 20721 mg/l. Many areas, including West Mambalam, Royapettah, Anna Nagar, Chetpet, Egmore, Kilpauk, Kotturpuram, Koyambedu, recorded an alarming rise in iron content beyond the permitted level of 0.3 mg/l. "*Excess of dissolved iron is bad for digestion. It gives the water a metallic taste and vegetables cooked in this water will turn dark and unappetising,*" says a hydro-geologist of the groundwater wing of the Public Works Department. People can use a simple iron removal model, which has three containers, each filled with sand, powdered charcoal and pebbles that



works as a water softener. "*The increase in the TDS and chloride content projects over-exploitation of groundwater in highly populated residential areas.*" [30]

Deep borewells in Besant Nagar and Adyar recorded high chloride values. While the Cooum has heavily influenced the chloride value in Triplicane, Kilpauk, Aminjikarai and Chintadripet; the Adyar estuary affects Kasturibai Nagar. G. Dattatri, trustee of SUSTAIN (Citizens'Alliance for Sustainable Living), which recently conducted a study in and around Valsaravakkam and Kottivakkam to assess groundwater quality, says, peripheral areas are also affected by over-extraction by private tankers to supply water to urban areas.[31]

To improve the quality of life, quality water or germ free water should be made available. To maintain the quality of water, purification process

should be adopted. The processes like proper storage, Filtration and Disinfection like chlorination should be done.

The health problems caused by water shortage and poor quality are enormous. To date back the health initiative with respect to water scarcity, a preventive health program of Madras Presidency was on Malaria research and Medical Education in 1920. As mentioned before, water problem is not a new phenomenon for the city. Improper planning, increasing migration and indiscriminate use of water has led to this crisis situation.

According to a study, the majority of people in Chennai drink water without boiling it. Since people do not have access to gas, they drink water as it is. The storing of water in various containers, in overhead tanks or ground level sumps, provides an ideal breeding ground for Malaria (A Stephensi mosquitoes). Many of them spend their income in mosquito repellents of various kinds. The strain of having to carry water over considerable distances, produce short term health impacts such as muscle pain, sprains and spasms, long term health impacts in terms of persistent backache, hernia requiring surgery etc. Following table shows the burden of diseases;

Table 1- Incidence of diseases in Chennai

Sl.no.	Name of the disease	No. of patients		
		2000	2001	2002
1	Cholera	1224	1115	1174
2	Non cholera diarrheas	2513	3317	3695
3	Malaria	6	28	207

Source: Annual report of the Corporation of Chennai, 2002.

Chennai is the most populated district in Tamil Nadu. Comparatively, Chennai has better facilities than other districts in T.N. The Health Infrastructure facilities, that of the total beds and available doctors are satisfactory than other districts. Yet, the increasing burden of water related diseases has created inadequacies.

There is constant growth in the slum population all over the country. It is very rapid in major metropolis of the Country. Chennai city is not an exception to it. The health status of slum population is worse than that of the other population in Chennai. This is due to lack of provision of basic facilities namely, safe drinking water, unsanitary food and housing etc. According to Health Department Corporation of Chennai, in the year 2001 there were

10,79,414 slum dwellers in Chennai. The urban health infrastructure is inadequate to face this health problems.

Table: 2 Health problems of Slum Dwellers in Chennai

	Details	2001	2002
1	No. of camps conducted	330	460
2	Respiratory infection	8465	12184
3	Guine worm infection diseases	7840	8232
4	Worm infection	4824	5019
5	PUO	4202	12938
6	Dental	3727	3950
7	Skin	290	3120
8	Sexually transmitted infections	830	943
9	ENT	2810	3100
10	Eye diseases	124	162
11	Diabeties	125	260
12	Heart diseases	60	284
13	No. Patients treated	33309	48908

Source: Health department records 2002, Corporation of Chennai.

The contaminated waterways like the Adyar and the Cooum hoards Armingers mosquitoes, besides polluting ground water resources. For those living on the banks of these rivers, diseases like typhoid and cholera strike with impunity. The stagnation of water facilitates the breeding ground of Anopheles mosquitoes which spread Malaria.In Chennai, there have been sporadic news reports on water contamination in different parts of the city. This was brought to light more due to citizens' complaints than any sustained checking system. It is worth noting that in these instances piped water had become visibly and irrefutably contaminated .

Many lakes in Chennai have become dumping grounds, affecting the quality of water. Several locations, known for better living conditions and an up market image are fast becoming endemic to Malaria in Chennai. Residents of New Washermanpet and several stretches of the Tiruvottiyur High Road in North Chennai had been provided piped water with markedly grey colour and rust particles, raising fears of high degree of contamination. The situation was likewise in the Wards 4 and 6 of the Chennai Corporation. The local Metrowater officials said the main reason for the coloured water supply was

the 'flushing' out operations undertaken at another pumping station. Confusion was reported even among Metrowater officials as to whether the 'contaminants' were from flushing operations or other leaks.[32]

A study conducted by the city's Ground and Surface Water Resources Data Centre points out that while intake of saline water would result in stomach problems, consumption of water with high levels of fluoride over a long period can cause severe bone damage and dental decay.

Health Intervention Activities

For improving health status, the following measures have to be adopted:

- conducting health impact assessments;
- vector control and biology;
- managing drinking water quality;
- managing wastes from health-care activities; and
- for developing participatory approaches for the control of diarrhoeal disease

Water problem causes health concerns for both women and children. The government has, therefore, evolved a new policy for urban health care to ensure basic maternal and child care facilities. The pilot scheme of The National Surveillance Programme of communicable diseases has been launched since 1997. Malaria is prevalent mainly in urban, coastal and riverine areas in the State. In Tamilnadu, more than 70% of the total malaria cases occur in urban areas. Chennai is the major problem area. The following problems attribute for the increase of Malaria in urban areas,

- Population migration in search of employment
- Lack of adequate water supply leading to storage of water for use, creating breeding source of Malaria vector
- Developmental activities, especially construction of building, over bridges etc
- Non closure of wells, cisterns, overhead tanks etc.,
- Inaccessible overhead tanks causing hindrance to the anti- larval work.

The cases in Chennai city are mostly confined to North Chennai. During the Malaria free campaign in December 2003, a total number of 1228 Malaria cases were detected and treated during the campaign. It is estimated that nearly 30% of the over-head tanks are inaccessible for weekly larvae cleaning. This is found to be the principal reason for high incidence of malaria.

The incidence of Malaria for the past three years are furnished below;

Year	Cases in the State	Cases in Chennai City
2000	43053	31861
2001	31551	23652
2002 (Jan- Nov)	31385	24725

Source: Performance Budget- 2003-2004, Health and Family Welfare Department, Government of Tamilnadu, April 2003.

Although malaria is prevalent among all age groups, the age group between 15 to 50 years is not affected. The male members, who are the daily bread winners are the most affected. The pregnant women are at great risk of delivering still born and under weight babies. It is well known that the growth of children born and brought up in such areas are affected with this disease. It is estimated that the Central, State and Local Government together spend about 12 crores per annum towards malaria control in Chennai.

Since Chennai is the drought prone city, the restricted Municipal water supply compels the residents to store water in every conceivable way. This situtation enables the Aedesaegypti, the vector mosquito to breed in all the water containers. Under this situation, at times, Dengue out break are occuring in Chennai.

Cases of Dengue

Year	Patients
2000	91
2001	737
2002	127

Source: Health Department, Corporation of Chennai, 2003.

During the year 2001, an outbreak occurred wherein 737 cases have been recorded with eight deaths. The entire city is at great risk of encountering dengue out breaks. A survey conducted recently indicated that 3% of the residents have knowledge about the disease, its spread and control. Therefore there is an urgent need to create awareness among the masses through multi-media.

Culex quinquefasciatus, the urban filariasis vector is also a measle causing mosquito. Chennai city is experiencing perennial mosquito menace which is perceived more by all the citizens than the disease itself. The potential breeding sources in Chennai are 800 Kms length network of storm water drains and 100kms length of major and minor water ways criss crossly following

within the City limits. Leptospirosis is the another major disease in Chennai. There were 713, 173, 222 cases identified in 2000, 2001, 2002 respectively.

The National Filaria Control Programme is implemented in Tamilnadu since 1957. This filaria endemic is mostly found in Saidapet area. Acute Diarrhoel diseases and suspected Cholera are common among the water borne diseases in Tamilnadu. Around 1582 cholera Inoculations and 52245 water sources were chlorinated during 2002-2003.The following are the details of cases and diseases due to A.D.D and Cholera in Tamilnadu past three years;

Year	*A. D. D*	*Cholera*
1998 - 1999	77748	1691
1999 - 2000	69824	1858
2000 -2001	62405	1183
2001- 2002	58733	1442
2002 -2003 (upto Jan 2003)	58214	1168

Source: Ibid.,

The Japanese Encephalitis occurs in Cuddalore, Villupuram and Perambalur districts. The leptospirosis is also high in Madurai and Thiruvallur districts. There also cases of Dengue fever in parts of Tamilnadu, which includes Chennai.

The above analysis shows how water scarcity and pollution leads to illness among people. Though the government intervenes and take steps to supply water, the problem does not end there. The prime requisite for good health is quality water, which is safe and wholesome.

Health promotion through supply of Quality Water

In general, water supply should confirm to two criteria:

- The quality must be sufficient to meet present and future requirements;
- The quality of water should be acceptable.

Today the demand is for usable water or safe water. The drinking water crisis in many Indian cities is reaching alarming proportions. A recent joint study conducted by United Nations International Children Education Fund (UNICEF) and the World Wide Fund (WWF) for Nature revealed the alarming situation of fresh water depletion in the country. They opined that the fall in the quality and quantity of available water resources is due to the following reasons:

- Pollution of water sources
- Improper water resources management
- Shortcomings in the design and implementation of legislation and regulations, which address these problems.[33]

When the water resource is scarce there is all the possibilities of Water Contamination. The drinking water quality is largely determined by sources of incoming water, modes of water supply, and levels of treatment.

Conclusion

"There are alternatives to oil, but there are no substitutes for Water" says Jean Michel Cousteau, son of a famed oceanographer. "*Water is an inalienable human right. Water is life.*" "People are sometimes willing to do anything to get water" says Mikhail Gorbachev, former President of the Soviet Union.

Since Water and Health are two precious resources, government and the NGO's have to plan well and distribute safe water for its citizens. Adequate and safe water would promote good health and thereby increase the productivity of this asset. All the States have the equal rights to use resources. There cannot be undermining of development and growth of country without possessing adequate water resources.

Water is a commodity governed by law of demand and supply. The State should follow the principle of equity and justice in provision of water to the people. Further, scarcity has left no option for the State, but to resort to commercialization of supply of water for various purposes. Now, a price tag is attached to water. There is price variation according to market conditions depending upon the supply and demand for water in the region. In many countries of the world, including India , water business is making good prospects in raising the levels of income. A market Dilemma has therefore set in.

Again, man has been harnessing natural resources for his benefit and well being in this world. In this pursuit, he has been unmindful of protecting the ecosystem. The process of development has led to depletion of various resources. Today, he is totally at the mercy of the nature to protect his life. By building a series of WRD projects we are not ensuring security but endangering it. This has posed a great environment dilemma.

Chennai also, is proactively pushing rainwater harvesting to conserve groundwater. "Safe water", stressed Gourisankar Ghosh, executive director

of the Geneva-based Water and Sanitation Collaboration Council , "*means less disease , improved nutrition and better education. Without moving water and sanitation on top of the political agenda, you cannot tackle poverty.*" A greater public accountability of elected representatives and public functionaries is the need of the hour. A special feature of water supply is that the water lines are old and creaky, just like most cities in the region. Water leakage ranges from 25-30 per cent. Hence this should be avoided by ensuring rectification programs.

Health is often not systematically considered by those who plan water development projects. Consequently, local communities, many of whom do not even stand to gain from the project, end up carrying the increased risk of illness from newly introduced water-related diseases. There are far too many examples of poorly-designed development schemes which have brought malaria or schistosomiasis into areas where it previously did not exist. Health concerns are rarely included in agricultural development policies. It has been shown that where health is taken into account, the eventual efficiency of water projects is greatly enhanced.

Adding to this debate, the environmentalists Mr.Rajendra Singh and Vandana Shiva express the fear that water scarcity has led to the erosion of community rights about the disempowerment of the people, and about the danger of the loss of control over the natural resources, first to the domestic, corporate sector and then to foreign and transnational corporation have to be taken seriously.

Groundwater experts say that besides testing waters for setting up desalination plants, the Government must take measures to construct check-dams in at least five places for storage. Even in reverse osmosis plants, safe disposal of wastewater should be done to avoid water pollution. The business community should join hands with the Government to tackle the situation.

The health of communities can be safe guarded if they are able to protect their water sources through dispose off solid waste and excreta, and provide wastewater drainage. Chlorination is a proven means of ridding water of disease causing micro-organisms in piped water supply.

Rainwater harvesting measures in India were first initiated during 1994 and are being continued. Many type designs have been developed for implementing these in independent houses and multi-storyed buildings. Besides creating awareness, Chennai Metropolitan Water Supply and Sewerage Board in association with the Chennai Metropolitan Development Authority

has also initiated certain regulatory measures to conserve water in Chennai. People should resort to draw water from the borewells not at the same time, but give much time for recharge. People can coordinate among themselves and draw water during non-peak hours.

The poor are more susceptible to ill-health than are the well-off. They lack adequate supplies of safe water and safe methods of disposing off their wastes. Lack of water and sanitation create ideal conditions under which faecal and oral diseases thrive. There has to be a rethinking of the traditional "scolding, moralistic" approach to hygiene in existing conditions of water shortage.

The environmentalists and the community at large should realize that atleast by paying for water its value would be realized. A country can march forward only if there is sufficient water maintenance and thereby improve the health connection. If these two components are taken care of, welfare of the people will be easily ensured. Oil as a good has alternatives, but there is no substitutes for water. Its importance should be understood.

Throughout human history, the availability of water has been an important factor in economic and social development. water has been and will remain a key determinant of population growth and distribution, economic development, social and political organization and the quality of life. The difficulty arises because water is hard to control, define, manage, negotiate and adjudicate [34]

"The first and largest interest of the State lies in this great agency of human power- the health of the people. Herein is all its strength. This creates and manages all its wealth, and the chief responsibility of Government is to protect it, and if possible to enlarge it and make it more productive."

- Edward Jarvis- 1879

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21

Emerging Perspectives in the Empowerment of Women - An Appraisal

DR. B.P.C. BOSE

"You can tell the condition of a nation by looking at the status of its women"

- Jawaharlal Nehru

The Welfare state is a form of government in which the state assumes responsibility for minimum standards of living for every person (Ebenstein,1980:606). The state plays a key role in Welfare State in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well being of its citizens. It is based on the principles of equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good life. The general term may cover a variety of forms of economic and social organization. A fundamental feature of the welfare state is social insurance, a provision common to most advanced industrialized countries (The New Encyclopaedia Britanica, 2002: 569).

Venkatarangaiya defines welfare state four decades ago as "a State which does not confine itself to the discharging of mere police functions but takes a wider view of its obligations and undertakes all activities which are considered necessary and desirable to remove social evils and promote the welfare of the population. Whether a state is a welfare state or not depends upon whether it recognise this obligation or does not recognize this obligation. If it does not recognize this obligation or if it recognizes it to a very limited extent it remains a police state or a laissez faire state. It becomes a welfare state when it recognizes this obligation in as wide a field as is necessary under

the special conditions of each country. It is only in contrast with the laissez faire state that the superiority of the welfare state is to be understood and measured. Although it is broadly in this sense that the term welfare state is to be understood it should be noted that the term is now used in a much more specific sense. It is now applied to a state, which undertakes obligations of a special kind even though they are like obligations already referred to, arising out of the growth of industrialism. They are obligations to meet certain evil characteristic of industrialised societies which have come to be recognised as avoidable evils in recent decades. Among them the more prominent are poverty, general mass unemployment and insecurity".(Venkatarangaiya, 1962:11-12)

In the post independence context, Gandhian view of social welfare constitutes the vanguard of sarvo-daya, enlightment and emancipation of all, especially the poorest. Even today, linguistic, religious, ethnic and cultural differences give rise to the question whether social welfare is a product of thinking and concerns of the elite, or whether it contains common man's idea of social welfare. There is no uniformity in the organisational arrangement of social welfare subjects in the governments. By and large, social welfare refers to programmes for the welfare of the women, the children and the physically handicapped at the state level. It is generally assumed that social welfare is a state subject and central government has peripheral role. In the VIIth Schedule of the Constitution, social welfare subjects are divided between the Centre and, the State. Some subjects are under the responsibility of both. Central government's role has generally been one of promoter, pace setter and stimulator. Central government has been promoting social legislation, laying down national priorities, encouraging and promoting the voluntary sector, advising the state governments, conducting experimental programmes and research and maintenance of standards. Social welfare programmes have encountered several problems in implementation. Generally, the actual budget provisions have been less than the plan outlay. And, utilisation of budget provision has been less than 100% indicating an organisaiton / institutional inability to absorb the funds allocated. Within social welfare, more than 60% of the budget is allocated to the welfare of the Backward Classes. Next priority is given to the Child Welfare, Women Welfare and Welfare of the handicapped (Jainendra Kumar Jha, 2001: 38-41).

Empowerment of women is a significant aspect of Welfare State. Empowerment of women is an on-going concern of academicians, researchers, policy makers, bureaucracy and political executives,NGOs, Civil Society

Organisations, and the important component of the society and stake holders themselves-Women activist groups both at the Union and state levels in India and all over the world .Both the Union and State governments in this regard have initiated several measures covering the multiple dimensions of issues relating to women since Independence. Over the years, several expert committees and commissions have been appointed to look into the problems and issues connected with women apart from the initiatives in the form of social legislation / enactment's by the Union and State governments. The focus of these expert bodies is mainly on improving the status of women– through institutional arrangements, role and status, allocation of resources to specific policies and programmes, etc. These efforts, no doubt, have aimed at correcting the limitations and inadequacies, and to strengthen and revitalize the role and status of women in the country. However, many observers and analysts have expressed the opinion that most of the efforts directed towards empowerment of women have not been translated into reality.

In spite of the proclaimed commitment to the issues and problems relating to women by the successive governments, the post independence scenario indicates that the condition and the status of women is one of negligence, discrimination, subjugation, and marginalisation. They suffer from hunger, poverty, malnutrition, poor health, lack of education, overwork, and mistreatment in greater numbers and to a greater degree.

The women have become so unwanted and undesirable that according to one estimation deaths of young girls in India exceed those of young boys by over 3,00,000 each year, and every sixth infant death is specifically due to gender discrimination. Of the 15 million baby girls born in India each year, nearly 25 percent will not live to see their 15th birthday (see, www.thp.org / reports, p.4.). The same is proved to be correct in a study conducted by UNICEF in 1996.

Social institutions all over the world are in transition. So are the nature, role and status of women in various societies. The Indian situation is no exception to this. The paper is addressed to the efforts of empowering women in the post-Independence period in India, especially in the light of National Policy on Empowerment of Women (2001). The paper also presents the recent initiatives of the Union Government and discuss the initiatives towards the empowerment of women by the Government of Andhra Pradesh.

The term empowerment has different meanings in different political and social contexts. The contextual meanings associated with empowerment

include- self-strength, control, self-power, self-reliance, own choice, own life of dignity in accordance with one's values, capable of fighting for one's rights, independence, own decision making, being free, awakening and capability. Empowerment is of intrinsic value. It also has instrumental value. Empowerment is relevant at the individual and collective levels. There are obviously many passive definitions of empowerment. In its broadest sense, empowerment is the expansion of freedom of choice and action. It means increasing one's authority and control over the resources and decisions that affect one's life. As people exercise real choice, they have increased control over the lives. In essence, empowerment is the expansion of assets and capabilities of marginalized and disadvantaged sections of the society to participate in, negotiate with, influence, control, and hold accountable in situations that affect their lives.

Empowerment of women has sought to be achieved through several methods in different areas. They are:Methodology; Electoral representation; Institutional existence and autonomy; role and status; allocation of resources etc., They can be further categorized that there are two methods of constitutional empowerment of women through conferment – namely coordinate status and independent status. The constitutional spirit of social welfare seeks to establish a social order in which freedom, equality and social justice are the central values. Government is expected to plan and implement programmes meant for the various sections – especially the vulnerable and disadvantaged in the society.

In the post independence period, policies are being adopted through the planning process for economic growth. In tune with the stated goals and objectives, number of social legislations and policies were initiated. In India, recognition of the need to bring women into the mainstream of development has underpinned national policy and planning since independence. For example, as early as in the late 1950s, Mahila Mandals or grass root women's organisations were promoted to ensure better implementation of welfare schemes run by the government, although with limited success.

The issues connected with empowerment of women come under the purview of several ministries both at the central and state levels. Institutional arrangements were made through Department of social security in 1964. Women welfare was one of the subjects assigned to it. Department of social security was redesigned as Department of Social Welfare. The same was divided in 1985 into Ministry of welfare and a Department of Women and Child Development.

The Department of Women's Welfare and Child Development is currently located under the Ministry of Human Resource Development covering the following subjects:

a) Family welfare

b) Women and Child Welfare

c) International affairs relating to women and children.

d) Promotion of voluntary effort pertaining to women.

e) Administration of SITA Act. 1956.

f) Dowry Prohibition Act 1961, Act.

Various programmes were launched for the welfare of women with an incremental out lays from the first five years plan to the current plan. Major programmes taken up in the past include rescue homes, protection homes, service women's homes, working women's hostels, vocation training, crèches for working women, socio-economic production groups, self-help groups DWCRA, DWCUA, etc. In spite of these efforts for the development/ empowerment of women most of the stated objectives are not translated into concrete action programmes of reality.

Ironically men treat women as a burden, even though they work more than men. The presence of women, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in the most powerful position for a long time did not change the position. However, it was not until the sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) that women's advancement received recognition as a specific development sector. In later Five Year Plans, there has been a gradual shift in favour of women's empowerment programmes as compared to the women's development approach of the earlier plan.The ninth Five Year Plan (1998-2002) identifies the empowerment of women and other socially disadvantaged groups as crucial to socio-economic change. The plan seeks to promote their participation in local government and in people's organisations.

A joint committee constituted to keep women's concerns under constant review and to monitor progress in pursuance of plan of action developed at national and international levels. A Constitutional Amendment which came into effect in 1993 provides for reservation of 33% of the seats in Panchayati Raj (local government) Institutions for women, bringing thousands of grassroots women into the country's political life.[1] Women's Development Corporations have been set up in about 18 states of the country to channel

financial assistance to women's economic enterprises. In order to soften the impact of structural adjustment programmes on poor women's lives, a special fund has been established under the social safety net to offer credit to women for self-employment and for setting up micro-enterprises.

National Policy for The Empowerment of Women 2001:

The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women assumed significance, even before it was formally approved. Most of the concerned eagerly awaited its declaration. The policy proposes, among other things, a system of regularly collecting sex-desegregated data on resource allocation, specializes sectoral policies and the performance of different development programmes for the advancement of women, Four Indian states, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Tamilnadu, have also issued policies or plans of action for women.

The national policy document is divided into 17 sections[2]. The introduction reminds us that the gender equality and positive discrimination were guaranteed by the Constitution. Beginning from the fifth five-year plan, informs the policy, to 73rd and 74th amendments, a number of steps were taken to build a strong foundation for empowering women and making them participate in decision making.

The first section deals with various international conventions and India's declared commitment to innumerable declarations[3] and appreciates the steps taken by non-government organisations and the spirit of the 9th Five Year Plan. This section rightly concludes that there is a wide gap between the declared goals and the situational reality in India[4]. The same section identified goals and objectives of the policy as:

(i) Creating an environment through positive economic and social policies for full development of women to enable them to realize their full potential.

(ii) The de-jure and de-facto enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedom by women on equal basis with men in all spheres – political, economic, social, cultural and civil.

(iii) Equal access to participation and decision making of women in social, political and economic life of the nation.

(iv) Equal access to women to health care, quality education at all levels, career and vocational guidance, employment, equal remuneration, occupational health and safety, social security and public office etc.

(v) Strengthening legal systems aimed at elimination of all forms of discrimination against women.

(vi) Changing societal attitudes and community practices by active participation and involvement of both men and women.

(vii) Mainstreaming a gender perspective in the development process.

(viii) Elimination of discrimination and all forms of violence against women and the girl child; and

(ix) Building and strengthening partnerships with civil society, particularly women's organizations" (1:11).

The second section underlines the necessity of introducing the required changes in the judicial legal system to make it gender sensitive and more responsive.

Section three promises to take all measures to guarantee equal access to decision-making bodies.

The fourth section talks about the mainstreaming a gender perspective in the development process.

The fifth section unfolds various ideas to ensure the economic empowerment and eradication of poverty. They include micro credit, reinterpretation and redefinition of conventional concepts of work, preparation of satellite and national accounts, training the women in soil conservation, social forestry, poultry, fisheries etc. While inviting the process of globalization this section wants to design strategies to enhance the "capacity to meet the negative social and economic impacts, which may flow from the globalization process" (5:4).

The sixth section is about the social empowerment of women. Equal access to education, holistic approach to health and recognition to the traditional knowledge of women on health care etc. are stressed in this section. The problems of intra-household discrimination in nutritional matters, safe drinking water, sanitation, housing, shelter, environment etc., are given special importance.

Sections seven and eight deal with violence against women and rights of girl child respectively.

Section nine is on mass media and it is for using the media to portray images that are consistent with the human dignity of girls.

Section ten is about action plans.

The next section is on institutional mechanisms at central, state and district levels[5].

Section twelve touches upon the key issue - issue of resources and says that the necessary resources to implement the policy will have to be managed by concerned departments, society as a whole and connected/concerned institutions. It assigns the responsibility of monitoring and reviewing the implementation to Department of Women and Child Development.

Section thirteen repeats the theme of second section, which deals with Judicial – legal efforts. While the fourteenth section deals with the need for gender sensitization of personnel, the fifteenth section hopes that the 73rd and 74th Amendments (reservation to women in Panchayat Raj and urban local bodies) play a key role in enhancing women participation.

The sixteenth section assures the voluntary organisations of appropriate support. It reaffirms its will to implement international obligations and commitments in all sectors of empowerment of women.

It is highly appreciable that a national policy on empowerment of women, who constitute, half of the universe, is formulated. As the document rightly put it, right from nutritious and equal share in square meal to equal status, every thing is a scarce commodity to women. Though it is very late[6], late by at least 54 years, finally we have a policy now. The wise say "better be late than never".

This policy document is successful in identifying the areas where extra inputs are needed to ensure the empowerment. The importance given to the micro-credit, to prepare national account for the contribution of women in generating the domestic product warrants particular appreciation. Identifying various strata among women and exclusive attention to their problems is another novel feature of this policy because the feminist attitude of projecting women as a homogeneous group proved to be less useful to women from poorer sections (Sahell, Sabala Sangh, 1991).

However, this policy document did disappoint the people who had been waiting for it[7] on many counts. The text and spirit of the policy appears like a statement of promise. Each paragraph positively promises some thing or other. Though the policies carry assurances, assurances themselves don't become a policy. A policy is an attempt to set something right or to achieve something. For that purpose it has to overcome the hurdles created, and utilise the opportunities provided by the social environment[8]. The policy makers have to strive hard to identify the opportunities and ways of overcoming hurdles.

From this flow the necessary strategies, programmes, with a thorough understanding about alternatives. Being a policy on a vital or most important segment with social consequences, a policy of this nature is supposed to be rational rather than populist or all-promising one.

The readers of the policy are at a loss to understand how so many wonderful changes could be possible, when nothing substantial was achieved in the 54 year history of independent India. The Policy acknowledges that a wide gap exists "between the goals enunciated in the constitution, legislation, policies, plans, programs and related mechanisms on the one hand and the situational reality of the status of women in India on the other". But did not try to identify the reasons for failure. To be polite, this is a vital overlook. One has to remember that, this policy was formulated after 54 years of experience in development effort, or 51 years of experience in planned developmental effort. The question that naturally arises is what factors prevented or downsized the expected development. The failure of the policy to address this point is a major drawback.

A fatal mistake of the policy is to treat the elders (old members of the house hold) as obstacles to empowerment. Consequently the policy proposed to "expand and improve" homes for the aged and disabled to ensure full co-operation of women in social, political and economic life[9]. This implies that old and disabled area hurdle for women's participation in public affairs or productive activities. This is an erroneous conclusion. Otherwise, this leads to a situation where every other member of family is treated as a hurdle for women participation in social affairs or her empowerment. As the American experience demonstrates, breakdown of emotional relationship in the family automatically leads to the breakdown of social life, paving the way for "pleasure seeking" individualism.

The stand taken by the policy on globalisation vis-à-vis women needs a debate. There is a considerable section of academician's who feel that structural adjustment programs cause more harm to women. A good number of case studies also proved the same (Maithreyi, 1993; Krishnaswami, 1993 and Sujaya C.P., 1993)[10]. Even the policy document accepts that globalisation has presented new challenges for the realisation of the goal of women equality and growing global economy lead to feminization of poverty. Still the policy assured that the "strategies will be designed to enhance the capacity of women and empower them to meet the negative social and economic impacts, which may flow from the globalization process".

The policy document is silent on the need for developing counter culture as an essential precondition for achieving gender equality. The existing cultural values run counter to the gender equality. It is quite natural for everybody to treat women as inferior beings[11]. Most of the religions[12], the education, particularly at the elementary level, perpetuate this feeling. Unless appropriate counter strategies are developed, the gender equality remains as an academic discussion. The need of the hour is for a secular outlook and an education system, which project the women as an essential subsystem of a wider social system. The realisation that any injury or inadequacy of a sub system ultimately becomes an injury or inadequacy to the total system, is a prerequisite for gender equality. It is the hope of this paper that a serious attention to the above-mentioned issues makes the women policy more comprehensive.

Experience during the Five and half decades from 1947 to 2003, indicate that empowerment of women has several positive and negative aspects. Positive aspects include institutional framework, raising expectations, need to establish integration and linkages, facilitation of opportunities for democratization, several new initiatives for the empowerment of women by the Union and state governments etc. It is assumed that increase in female literacy rate significantly contributes for enhancing their social awareness and issues concern themselves. Historically, various factors have been found to be responsible for poor female literacy rate such as gender based inequality; social discrimination and economic exploitation; occupation of girl child in domestic chores; low enrolment of girls in schools; and low retention rate and high dropout rate. It is gratifying to note that according to 2001 census the percentage of female literacy rate in the country is 54.16 percent . The female literacy has increased from8.86% in 1951 to 54.16 % in 2001. They are expected to contribute increased social awareness; school enrolment; self-confidence and personality development; gender equity and women's empowerment.

Initiatives by Government of India for the Empowerment of Women in the recent past.

- Declared 2001 as Women Empowerment year to bring about awareness on women Rights and issues connected with women.
- Introduced 5 annual Stree Sakthi Puraskar for women who contribute for women empowerment.
- New Swayam Siddha Scheme for Women and Child Development through network of Self Help Groups to promote and work for Women Empowerment.

- Net Working of Women Self Help Groups for promoting Women Empowerment.
- Swadhar Scheme for Women in critical situation to provide total rehabilitation for women.
- Extension of ICDS scheme in 5652 blocks in the country in 2002 which is expected to provide employment to 1 million women
- Rs. 500/- as Honorarium per month for Anganvadi Workers and Rs. 240/- per month for Anganvadi assistants from April 2002.
- Indian Divorce Amendment Act 2002, to avoid procedural delays and gender based inequalities and discrimination.
- Medical Termination of Pregnancy amendment Act 2002 to punish illegal MTP cases.
- Marriage Acts amendment bill 2003 provides for issues dealing with harassment of wive's and mechanisms of redressal of grievances and appeal to the local district officials within 90 days instead of 30 days. (Government of India, 2003: 52)

In spite of these positive aspects, women continue to be discriminated and the issues relating to women receive low priority since a long period. The tragedy has been that these positive features have remained confined to only select areas in few state. By and large if we look at the overall picture of the process of empowerment of women and their actual impact on socio-economic situation and transformation has been sub optimal and mixed in limited spheres. While states are so keen about promoting empowerment of women they are not always equally keen to promote and support their cause. The gap between promise and performance has been widening. There is perhaps no alternative to making statutory arrangements in this regard. The establishment of a National Commission for Women and the state level commissions has, however, fallen short of the expectations. However, the experience in Andhra Pradesh in the empowerment of women through DWCRA and Self-Help Groups(SHGs) through micro-credit / finance achieved considered progress/ success . It is to be noted that female literacy rate is increased from 32.72% in 1991 to 51.17% in 2001 in Andhra Pradesh. It is noticed that the female literacy rate during 1991-2001 increased by 14.87% in A.P. In 1991, there were 448 Mandals with less female literacy rate has come down to 14 Mandals in 2001.

Empowerment of Women in Andhra Pradesh through DWCRA

One important social change taking place in A.P. relates to women's

empowerment (socio - economic) through self-help groups. DWCRA is the main model with large number of groups. The Government of Andhra Pradesh has taken up several programmes for the Welfare of women's in the past few years .They include the assignment of lands, house sites, and allocation of fair price shops in the name of women ; 33% reservation of seats for women in Panchayati Raj Institutions ; one third reservation for women in higher educaitonal institutions , public employment; and economic development programmes; earmarking one third of the budget of all departments for women development ; formation of Mothers committees , Anganwadi centres; deposit of Rs.5000/- under Child Protection Scheme for eligible girl child. So far 3.65 girl child bank accounts were opened. Velugu Scheme is under implementation in backward areas of 22 districts covering 864 Mandals. It is expected to cover 31 lakh persons belonging to the poor families with an out lay of Rs. 2079 crores by 2008. Under Deepam Scheme (1999 benefited 24.18 lakhs upto January 2004. Gruhini Scheme (2003-2004) benefited 36,452. In the implementation of Mid Day meal Scheme for school children 53,156 DWCRA groups are participating. 1.8 lakh cycles were distributed for school going girls.

Government of Andhra Pradesh has taken up the theme of Women's Empowerment as one of the main agenda items to deal with rural poverty and socio-economic issues. Self Help movement through thrift and saving has been taken up as a mass movement by women- a path chosen by the women to shape their future destiny. Development Agenda of the State in the last few years has been to place the poor, especially women in the forefront has facilitated formation of a large number of Self Help Groups(SHGS) throughout the State. There are more than 65.40 lakh women from poor families of these groups, majority of them are saving one rupee a day. State Government is consciously making an effort to assist these Self Help Groups by providing Revolving Fund under DWCRA.

Aims and Objectives of DWCRA

DWCRA recognizes that banks do not cater to the consumption needs of rural women, hence they selected 'Thrift and Credit', for self reliance.

- Improving the Status and quality of life of poor women and children in the rural areas.
- Improving the impact of ongoing development programmes by stimulating, supplementing, strengthening and integrating them.

- Involving the community in planning and implementing the programmes so that need based development activity will be carried on by the communities even after outside assistance is withdrawn.

Success of a DWCRA groups depends on

1. Groups of women in poverty with a purpose.
2. Savings as an entry point for the members to get together.
3. Democratically managed and collective decision making groups.
4. Least dependence on external marketing support.

In the World Micro Credit Summit(1997), held in Washington, it has been recognised that women's Self Help movement is one of the most themes to tackle socio-economic poverty. As per the theme of the summit a total of 100 million women in the world are to be mobilized with Self Help Groups by 2005.(Rama Lakshmi,2003:21). Presently there are 4,75,646 lakh DWCRA and SHG groups in Andhra Pradesh with a total membership of 65,41,105 lakh women (0.65%), having a savings of Rs. 904.42 crores. Government has given assistance to the tune of Rs. 720.53 crores, thus bringing the corpus fund to Rs. 1624.95 crores by December 2003. Banks have extended financial assistance to the tune of 1716.81 crores. The rate of recovery of loans is more than 95%. The average savings of each groups is Rs. 19,015.(Government of Andhra Pradesh,2004:100).

The following table shows the details of women Self Help Groups 2003-04 (upto Dec 2003) in A.P

S.No	ITEM	FIGURES
1	Total Groups	4,75,646
2	No. of Women members	65,41,105
3	Total Savings	Rs. 904.42 Crores
4	Government Assistance	Rs.720.53 Crores
5	Total Corpus	Rs. 1624.95 Crores
6	Bank linkage Assistance	Rs. 1716.81 Crores
7	Average Group Savings	Rs. 19,015

During 1995-96 the total number of SHGs were 40,154 with a corpus fund of Rs. 90 crores increased to 4,75,646 groups with a corpus of Rs.1624.95 crores correspondingly up to Dec. 2003(GOAP,2004:101)

The following table shows the growth of Self Help Groups and their Corpus Fund during 1995-96 to 2003-04 (upto Dec 2003)

S.No.	Year	No. of SHGs	Corpus Fund (Rs. In Crores)
1	1995-96	40,514	90
2	1996-97	73,678	122
3	1997-98	85,415	240
4	1998-99	99,243	310
5	1999-2000	2,00,110	520
6	2000-01	3,10,000	808
7	2001-02	4,23,356	1201.94
8	2002-03	4,51,248	1432.18
9	2003-04	4,75,646	1824.95

In terms of performance 2,52,093 (53%) groups belong to A category with 75 % or more rating; 1,23,666 (26%) groups are in the B category with rating between 50% to 75 %; 66,591(14%) groups. With rating of 50% or less bracketed in C category; and 33,296 (7%) groups are failed.(GOAP,2004:100).

The following table shows the Classification of Self Help Groups in Andhra Pradesh

S.No	Item	No. of Groups	Percentage
1	A Category – 75 % Plus	2,52,093	53%
2	B Category – 50% to 75 %	1,23,666	26%
3	C Category- 50% or Less	66,591	14%
4	D Category – Failures	33,296	7%

Regarding the Social composition of the members of these groups BCs constitute 27,48,074 (41.99%) followed by SCs 21,80,150 (33.33%), STs 9, 93,593 (15.19%) and other categories 6,18,788 (9.46%). (GOAP, 2004: 100)

The following table shows the Social Composition of Self Help Groups in Andhra Pradesh

S.No	Cast	Numbers	Percentage
1	SCs	21,80,150	33.33%
2	STs	9,93,593	15.19%
3	BCs	27,48,074	41.99%
4	Other Castes	6,18,788	9.46%

Maximum number of women members (64 percent) belong to the age group of 19-35, while another 34 percent belong to the next higher age group of 36-50 years. Thus in a big way the Government is making all out efforts to improve the saving among women through matching Grant Scheme, Revolving Fund, Group Loaning under SGSY and Linking Scheme of NABARD.

The following table shows the comparison between All India figures and Andhra Pradesh in relation to financial assistance through Banks during 2002-2003

S.No	Item	India	Andhra Pradesh
1	No of Groups provided with the Financial Assistance of the Banks	7,17,360	3,68,000 (51.29%)
2	Total loans from Banks	Rs.2,438 crores	Rs.1,095 crores (44.91%)
3	Average Group Loans	Rs.28,560	Rs.28,894
4	Increase in Credit Flow than the previous year	87%	182%

In Andhra Pradesh, DWCRA groups and Self Help groups are very active and achieved a respectable position in the country, over all the other States. The highest being in East Godavari district, while Cuddapah is having the least number of groups.

It was found that "these groups had a perceptible impact on alleviation of poverty. The additional income accrued to the members from the activities undertaken in DWCRA varied between Rs. 10-30 per day, on an average. Though gender poverty did not decline significantly, food security improved marginally. These group-based activities enabled the near poor to cross the poverty line. The activities undertaken are mostly traditional, utilizing the existing skills of the members. These activities provided full employment to

the members as well as their male counterparts. In many cases, the quality of employment improved as a result of shift from wage employment to self-employment. There were also non-economic impacts of the groups such as on literacy, health, housing and empowerment", (Mahendra Dev,2003:22).

It is further noted that the findings show that "the poorest of the poor are not participating in the existing self-help groups. The repayment schedule suitable to the poorest of the poor should be adopted. The improvement in skill base, given the other asset base, can also be a solution to tackle the problems of the poorest. Proper livelihood planning, bulk purchases of inputs and collective marketing of outputs help the poorest of the poor to organize their economic activity effectively. Thus micro-credit alone cannot address the problems of the poorest. Interventions in commodity markets are also needed. The second issue is how to make the existing groups sustainable over time. The low growth of the economy and existing class relations are posing constraints for the relatively better off among the poor in improving their wellbeing. The process of empowerment of women can not be sustained unless their livelihood concerns are aptly addressed. There is a need to undertake viable economic activities, which can improve incomes much faster.".(Mahendra Dev,2003:22). It is suggested that poverty eradication through self help groups can become sustainable only if productive assets of the poor are augmented and employment is generated through labour-intensive growth.

Viewed from a different perspective, the rural women with the active support of the Government of Andhra Pradesh have been transforming their lives into full time and active entrepreneurs with lot of hope and are able to lead a life with self-esteem. From the position of passive recipients of Governmental assistance now they have become active participants and stake holders in DWCRA. They have realized their importance of 'Self-Management' and increasingly aware about their rights and issues connected with them. As such DWCRA has become a powerful tool in brining women together, in the remote rural areas of Andhra Pradesh and thus helping themselves from the culture of silence towards collective community progress on a sustainable basis.

However, reforms on their own can't bring in the desired changes but it is the mid set of the stake holders involved in the empowerment of women– Public, political representatives, policy makers at the state and union levels, bureaucracy and civil society organisations – play a significant role in the empowerment of women.

When in opposition our political leaders are extremely vocal about empowerment of women. All major political parties have promised to empower women in their manifestoes during the election season. The moment they came to power, they change colour. It is such lip service to women that tends to undermine them. The larger interests of the society within the over-all framework of national interest should guide them. It is a fact that the empowerment of women is mainly correlated to the political game plan of ruling political parties. On the whole, the available evidence points to achievements that are 'nominal' or 'sub-optimal' with few exceptions.

In an appraisal of the achievements so far in a different context, it is noted that enfranchisement, empowerment and ethical functioning with a moral code of conduct, are the three elements of democratic decentralisation. If democratic decentralisation is viewed as a 'stages approach' in transformation, it can be safely asserted that India has successfully crossed the first stage of enfranchisement and has partially moved towards the second stage of empowerment with limited success. But what has been called the third wave of democratic transformation, which is the 'ethical mode of functioning', is yet to be addressed in its totality. (Sundaram, 2000:298). One of the major impediments to the empowerment of women is the "dependency syndrome" created by the in built social and structural bias as a whole and partly due to the Union and state governments.

There are several areas of the constitution that require change to empower women. They include removal of contradictions within the constitution itself and between constitutional provisions and international conventions adopted.

Questions:

The social legislations and policy initiatives relating to the women empowerment and their applications raise the following important questions.

— Have the last fifty years initiatives lent credibility and strength to them?

— Whether the national policy is an innovative and comprehensive improvement?

— Whether the present status of women is different from the past?

— To what extent several efforts and initiatives in the recent past to plug the proverbial pitfalls, have indeed provided impetus to the process of women empowerment?

— How and when women come out of discrimination and gender bias?

— Whether and what extent national policies clinch genuine departure from the past?

— Whether and how far state efforts and practice precipitate improvement in the status of women?

— Whether the policies and programmes have resulted in artificial dichotomy between rural and urban women with in the region.

— Whether in view of their social backwardness of women, SCs/STs, reservation for these categories, illiteracy and conditions of deprivation, the rural women will be able to shoulder the responsibilities of governance in PRIs?. Will they not become pawns in the hands of the local elite/political parties?

Foot Notes:

1. In the light of implementation of the provisions of the 73RD Constitutional Amendment Act there were 7,68 582 (31.37%) women representatives out of total of24,49.759 positions in PRIs as on May 31ST, 1998

	G.P	M.P.P	Z.P
A.P	78,000/2,30,529 (33.84%) (Fourth largest)	5,420/14,644 (37.01%) (Second largest)	363/1,093 (33.21%) (Third largest)

ALL INDIA 7,68,582/ 24, 49, 759(31.37%) 38,582/ 1,29,871(20.71%) 4,030/12,671(31.80%)

* Except Pondycherry, Bihar, Jammu& Kashmir ,Arunachal pradesh and Lakshdweep

Source: Panchayati Raj Up Date, 57, Sept. 1998:6

2. Though this was the first ever policy, certainly not the first attempt in the direction of ensuring empowerment of women. This is just the culmination of a prolonged effort. The first attempt was made in 1974 when an official document entitled "Towards Equality: Report of the Committee on the status of women in India" was published by Department of Social Welfare, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India. This was a report by the Committee on the status of women in India. The Ministry of Education and Social Welfare constituted this committee in 1971. There was a National Perspective Plan For Women 1988-2000, published in 1988 and

Sharamashakti Report, a report on the condition of women working in unorganized sector.

3. The policy statement that "India ratified ... ... Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1993)" was not correct. In fact the Government of India did not become a party to Art. 16(1) and 16(2) of CEDAW, that dealt with uniform code of marriage and compulsory registration of marriage respectively. The Government also rejected Art 29(1), which imposed compulsory arbitration in international Court of Justice in gender discrimination cases (see Empowerment women through Self Help Groups, a report published by the Department of Women and Child Development, 2000, p. 2).
4. To be clear, the problem of empowerment of women is not only an Indian one, but almost universal. For a brilliant presentation of the status of women world over see, "Further Actions And Initiatives To Implement The Beijing Declaration And the Platform For Action" document adopted by the 23rd special session of the UN General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development, and Peace For The 21st Century". For the place of women in decision making process see "50-50 by 2005: Get The Balance Right", and Sushila Ramaswami, "Women in parliament: A Global Glimpse". www.plbnew/html.
5. The Prime Minister and the Chief Minister act as heads of the Councils at center and state levels. Besides representatives from the concerned departments, chair persons of National and State Commissions for Women, social welfare boards, representatives of non-government organisations, women's organisations, corporate sector, trade unions , financing institutions, academics, experts and social activists also serve on these councils.
6. It may be recalled that the vital issue of women empowerment had been on the agenda way back in 1942 the National Planning Committee's sub-committee on women prepared a policy note entitled "Women in planned Economy". It reminded the nation about the necessity of involving women on equal status in economy and decision making (see Empowerment women through Self Help Groups, a report published by the Department of Women and Child Development, 2000, p.2, p-12)

7. It is appropriate to recall here that the whole nation in general and the clientale groups in particular waited for four years for this document. Inspired by the Beijing Conference (1995), a draft national policy was formulated. A serious of consultations with members of parliament, state government, Non-governmental organisations, women organisations, social activists, researchers and other experts delayed the finalisation of the policy. The policy in its finalised form was sent to the cabinet around February 1998 (see, Asha Das, 1998). The political uncertainity and other factors delayed the policy announcement for two more years.
8. For a detailed discussions on this point see, Anderson, James E (1979), Anderson Walt (1975) and Easton David (1965).
9. As early as 1910s and 20s a Feminist, Alexandra Kollontai argued that child – rearing and children education is the responsibility of the state. She also argued that the precondition for women participation in collective affairs is liberating her from private responsibilities. Neither Kollontai nor feminists of her school never bothered to make their better – half's as equal partners in household affairs, so that private and personal remains as private and yet women get more time and space to contribute to collective affairs (see Holt, Alix 1977 and Lokaneeta Jinu, 2001).
10. There are another set of writers who argue that the structural adjustment programme helps the economic empowerment. A representative example is Sudha and LK Deshpande (1992, Nandita Shah et. al 2001 and Rohini Hensman 2001).
11. It pains to see that even the leaders of the feminist movement, and academicians who champion the cause of gender equality like to be recognised by the names of their better-half's or fathers.
12. For a thought provoking debate on this issue see Agnes, Flavia 1995, Omvedt, Gail 1994, Sangari 1995 and Engineer, Asghar Ali 1994.

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22

Gender Disparity in Human Development

DR. G. VIRGIN SIGAMANI

Welfare measures initiated by the state are intended to achieve human development. Human development is understood and measured in terms of economic and social well being of every individual in the society. Both sexes of the population are equally entitled to enjoy the benefits of welfare programmes. Looking at the reports and studies on human development reveals that women enjoy only a secondary position in so far as human development is concerned. This is the condition at national level and global level. Gender disparity in human development is inconsistent with the ideology of welfarism. An attempt is made in this paper to analyse the factors that are responsible for the present status of women and those that tend to worsen it with a particular reference to Tamil Nadu.

It is true that vast majority of people in Tamil Nadu like in any other state in India have not been fortunate enough to enjoy full fledged human development inspite of the various welfare schemes initiated by the Government. Comparative studies of men and women in respect of human development show that women are more unfortunate than men in accordance with the benefits of human development. Poor women are poorer than poor men in all respects.

The secondary position of women in Tamil Nadu is reflected in the extent to which women have control over their own labour: whether to work, what work to do, at what wages and under what social conditions. Gender division of labour is predominant, under which the gender of the person rather than their competencies or inclinations shapes task – allocation. While both men and women in Tamil Nadu are found more in agriculture than in

manufacturing and services, the agriculture labour force is on the whole more feminine, while the labour force in manufacturing and services is more masculine.

Along with this segmentation, there is differential valuation of work, with women's work being valued less than that of men. Such segmentation of task is also common in the manufacturing and tertiary sectors. In the service sector women are, for example, found more in low end jobs such as domestic work, teaching, nursing and secretarial service, while the high end tasks like advertising, etc. are carried out by men. The same is true of manufacturing where women are found in lower jobs such as beedi manufacturing, manual labour in cotton textiles, garment making, cashew nut processing, fish and food processing and the match industry.

Women's involvement in the informal sector is characterised by a high incidence of casual labour with women mostly doing intermittent jobs at extremely low wages or working on their own account with uneconomical returns. In the case of wage-workers, exploitation in the form of long hours, unsatisfactory work conditions and health hazards, is common because supply of labour far exceeds demand. Notable examples include sub-contracting to women at home in the beedi and match industries.

Sexual harassment is prevalent in both the formal and informal sectors. It has been observed that incidence of sexual harassment is higher in the informal sector. Poor women who are faced with such harassment either succumb to the pressures of the employer or lose their jobs. In rural areas women labourers from Scheduled Castes (SC) communities are harassed more than women labours from other communities.

Another disturbing feature is the girl child labour. The girl child labourers form the rural labour force. Majority of girl child labourers come from SC Community.

If has been observed that more women than men in Tamil Nadu experience poverty. The proportion of women headed households in poverty is higher than the proportion of male headed households in poverty. The proportion of SC women and women agricultural labourers in poverty is much greater than the proportion of other caste groups in poverty.

The picture of the position of women in Tamil Nadu as painted above is an indication of the fact that the welfare programmes initiated by the government have not succeeded in bringing about the women's advancement to the desired level.

An analysis of the situation and an attempt to find out the reasons attributable to the present plight of women bring to light the following facts:

The first and foremost is the impact of globalisation on human development. India was forced to join the global economy by the IMF as a condition for the grant of a loan. The New Economic Policy was introduced in 1991 as a Structural Adjustment Programme created by the IMF. As a result the Indian Market was opened up and the foreign capital came in. Indian economy being rural agriculture was not prepared to accommodate the influx of capital. Multinational corporations that came into on account of the Structural adjustment Programme started exploiting the human and environmental resources. As pointed out by Griswold the multinational companies searched for cheapest labour that was found in the agricultural, rural women of India. The gender difference in labour was exploited to the advantage of the multinational companies. The women labourers were paid poor wages for their long hours of work. Further, as pointed out by Dewan, the devaluation of currency, privatisation of industry, liberalisation of trade, and globalisation of markets led to a cut in the social development programmes such as access to education and health care and led to greater unemployment among women.

The second reason for the pathetic state of women lies in the fact that women in India are part of the reserve army of labour which labels them as replaceable and disposable. As women move from rural, agricultural communities to urban centres for industrial work, they are involved in proletarianisation. Through this they become part of a huge urban working class. As part of the unskilled labour force, women compete for jobs and face declining wages. Unemployment hits them when mechanisation of job in low skilled sectors occurs. As a result they go to unorganised sectors to earn wages. In the unorganised sectors the plight of women labourers become more pathetic as they have to face long hours, hazardous work conditions, low wages and other types of harassment and exploitation. Further more, due to their lack of education and training the women are not qualified for many jobs.

As an evil of social stratification the caste system prevalent in the society is found to have detrimental effect on the women's advancement. Women in the lowest castes are most likely to be affected by unemployment and they work in the unorganised sectors. Because it is the caste into which a women is born which determines the type of education she will receive and the career opportunities she will be entitled to, there is no hope for poor women to move

up. A cycle of poverty gets established and persists from generation to generation.

Dewan points out that with the New Economic Policy, 1991 cuts were made in social development programmes in respect of education and health care. This in turn has affected women's progress in the economic sphere. Through education, girls learn about birth control, grasp new skills, and are taught how to survive and, thus can better their lives. The cuts made to health care have come in the form of doing away with the provision of basic necessities to poor women through the public distribution system. Thus the neglect of women's education and health care has retarded the process of women's development.

Women slip into poverty stricken condition in gender specific ways and gender specific factors prevent them from coming out of it. Getting married into a poor family for want of dowry and breaking down of marriage are two gender specific reasons for women slipping into poverty. Women's lack of rights to land, house and productive rights, the gender based stratification of the labour market, their greater dependency on wage labour, lower wages as compared to men, lesser control over family income all come in the way of their coming out of their poverty condition.

While many innovative experiments have been carried out at national and state level for women's advancements the gender disparity continues to exist. The following suggestions are made in order to reduce the gender gap in human development.

As the first step, the right to work must be made a fundamental right. Not only this will provide job opportunity to all individuals but also it will make the political leaders more responsible and think in terms of augmenting the resources of the country so that several constraints on the path of women's advancement can be removed.

Secondly, the Government must think of ways and means to expand substantially the access of poor women to family planning and reproductive health services.

Thirdly, the Government must adopt educational reform agendas designed to increase the quality and quantity of, first primary, and then secondary, schooling for girls. A programme of this sort should include giving scholarships and engaging families and communities in the task of getting and keeping girls enrolled.

Fourthly, the government must adopt labour – intensive 'pro-poor' economic growth policies that expand employment opportunities. It should be such that investments are made in upgrading women's skills in both traditional and non-traditional occupations that can compete in national as well as export markets.

Finally, the government should put all efforts to raise the basic standard of living for the women by including the various options indicated above into policy pronouncements and realize them objectively. Political leaders and government officials must look directly at women's issues, and enact laws that reflect the reality of the situation. Since globalisation is inevitable, the steps should be taken to protect the women from being exploited by the situation created by it. A concerted effort on the part of the political leaders, officials and the public with all preparedness to face the reality of the situation will go along way in reducing the gender gap in human development not only at state level but also at the national or global level.

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23

Women Empowerment Through Reservation in Tamil Nadu

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Ours is a patriarchal society. Patriarchy is a structure of power that endorses male supremacy. Society is organized around this patriarchal principle whereby women are subordinate to men. Men wield more authority than women in the family, the economy, and the polity. So, the Tamil Poet of Indian renaissance, Subramania Bharati composed poems in support of the cause of liberation of women from the trammels of man's prejudice, ignorance and supersition. In his famous poem on women's freedom (the Kummi Pattu) subramania Bharati sang as follow :

Dance the Kummi; beat the measure;
To rule the realms and make the laws
We have arisen;
Nor shall it be said that woman lags behind man
In the knowledge that he attaineth
Dance the Kummi; beat the measure.

His disciple Kanaga Subbu Rathinam alias Bharatidasan who was a rationalist and a revolutionary poet also fought for the emancipation of women through his poems.

The establishment of the women's Indian Association in Madras in 1917 under the leadership of Mrs. Annie Besant and Mrs. Margaret Cousins was a significant landmark in the growth of women's movement in Tamil Nadu and India, when Mr. Montague, Secretary of State for India came to this country in 1917 to investigate and study the conditions for political reform,

an All India deputation of women social workers headed by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu met him in December,1917 at Madras and pleaded for equal constitutional rights for women. The other members of the delegation were Dr. Annie Besant, Mrs. Margaret Counsin, Lady Sadasiva Iyer, Mrs. Jeena Raja Dasa, Dr. Joshi. Mrs. Chandrasekara Iyer, Mrs. Guruswami Chetty etc. Their demand was : "When the Franchise is being drawn up, women may be recognized as 'People' and that it may be worded in such terms as will not disqualify our sex, but allow our women the same opportunities of representation as our men."

The Women's Movement in Tamil Nadu threw up some inspired and dedicated social workers who have made monumental contributions in the development of women and social services. One such social reformer was Mr. E.V. Ramasamy, known as "Periyar" (Great Sage). He also stood for the emancipation of women. The patriarchal nature of society prevents women's development and the achievement of equality. After independence, various welfare programmes were implemented for the welfare of the demand. But, there is no visible change in the status of women. This was well realized and understood by the D.M.K. Government in 1989. So, in order to achieve equality, it thought that reservation of jobs to women will lead to women empowerment and women empowerment will lead to equality. In order to achieve this it passed an act of 30 percent reservations in Government employment in the year 1989. In the same way of thinking, the Congress Government at the Centre brought the Panchayat Raj Bill in 1989 which provides 33 percentage of seats reserved for women in both rural and urban local self governments. That Bill was passed by Lok Sabha but it failed to gain requisite majority in the Rajya Sabha. However, the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment Acts, 1993 also made it mandatory to reserve one third of seats in local bodies for women. Following this the Tamil Nadu Government enacted the Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act, 1994 replacing The Tamil Nadu Panchayats Act, 1958 and also amended the relevant provisions of various Acts relating to urban bodies. On that basis local body elections in both rural and urban areas were held in Tamil Nadu in 1996 and 2001. With this background the present paper attempts to examine how far the reservation of jobs in employment and seats in Local Bodies benefited the women and paved the way for women empowerment.

Women Reservation:

Reservation of seats for women is not new to us. It was in practice even during the British period. The Government of India Act of 1935 provided

for reserved seats for women in the Central and Provincial Legislatures. But, this reservation was not extended to Government jobs and to the Local Self Governments. After independence, reservation was made only to the Harijans, not to the women. The constitutional provisions for reservations are intended to create conditions for the social advancement of the historically disadvantaged groups. They strived for their integration into main stream of social life and their participation in the countries political life and opportunity to raise on equal terms with the advanced groups.

Indian Constitution and Women's Welfare :

The preamble to the constitution assures all citizens of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India, equality of status and of opportunity, to usher in justice – social, economic and political. It is enshrined in the Fundamental Rights that "the state shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India" under Article 14.

Article 15 (1) states that "The state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them". For the speedy emancipation of women, the Fundamental Rights of the constitution have also authorised the state to make any special provision for women and children under Article 15 (3). Articles 16 (1) and 16 (2) of the constitution grant the right of equal opportunities in regard to employment to women along with men without any distinction. Traffic in human beings is prohibited under Article 23 (1).

Following the Fundamental Rights, the Directive Principles of State Policy have enjoined the state to direct its policy towards securing for its citizens, men and women equally, the right to an adequate means of livelihood; equal pay for equal work; and protection against all forms of exploitation Article 39 (a), (d) and (f). Provisions for just and humane conditions of work and maternity relief or also included (Article 42).

Women Empowerment:

The long history of mankind has been marked by efforts to ensure women empowerment. It is a most popular, attractive and attentive concept in the new millennium. It has been the subject of intellectual and philosophical speculation and debated and developed by thinkers from various cultural, religious, sociological, economical, political, philosophical traditions. Empowerment ensures that socially marginalized persons and groups to gain advantages and opportunities otherwise non-available to them. Empowerment

is not an end itself, however, but a means to end. It entails acquiring "adequate knowledge and capacity, the confidence, the help and ideas to decide what is best for (oneself), and to act accordingly in fulfilling one's own potentials". Women empowerment is multi-dimensional in nature and the important dimensions are Political, Social, Economic, physical and in orther areas of technology. In pursuance of the above said articles, the govt enacted a series of laws which had gone a long way towards the emancipation and empomerment of women in the country. Advever, we are concerned with two important acts like reservation of jobs for women in government, local bodies and public undertakings and reservation of seats for women in local bodies.

The first Act was passed in 1989 which provided 30 percent of jobs for women in Government, Local Bodies and Public Undertakings. This act provided not only employment opportunity for women but also made them self confident and economic independence. The following Table shows the number of beneficiaries through this Act year-wise.

Year	Local bodies & Public Undertakings	Govt. services
1990	14,000	314
1991	14,000	281
1992	9,000	935
1993	6,000	39
1994	3,000	226
1995	4,000	69
1996	3,500	179
1997	14,500	381
1998	6,500	157
1999	11.500	-
2000	6,500	590
2001	9,000	1165
2002	5,500	-
2003	3,500	-

The second Act marked historic event in the advancement of women by ensuring one-third of total seats in local bodies for women in Local body elections in both rural and urban areas which were held in Tamil Nadu in 1996 and 2001. The following Table shows that a total of 44,261 women were elected to local bodies due to this reservation.

Representation in Rural Local Bodies in Tamil Nadu

Areas	Female	Male	Total seats	percent Female
Village Panchayat Presidents	4,310	8,309	12,619	34.15
Village Panchayat Ward Members	32,318	64,696	97,014	33.31
Union Presidents	139	246	385	36.10
Union Members	2,297	4,208	6,505	35.31
District Panchayat Presidents	10	18	28	35.71
District Councillors	242	406	648	37.34
Total	39,316	77,883	1,17,199	33.54

Representation in Urban Local Bodies in Tamil Nadu

Areas	Female	Male	Total seats	percent Female
Town Panchayat Presidents	200	436	636	31.44
Town Panchayat Ward Members	3,238	6,935	10,173	31.82
Municipal Chair Persons	34	68	102	33.33
Municipal Councillors	1,151	2,294	3,445	33.41
Corporation Mayors	02	04	06	33.33
Corporation Councillors	160	314	474	33..75
Total	4,945	9,051	14,836	33.33

So, this reservation really empowered a sizeable section of women to represent the grievances of women and made them in a position to execute the policies of the government. Without reservation, this could have not been achieved to this extent. It is proved on the scrutiny of this table.

Members in the Tamil nadu Legislative Assembly

Year	Male	Female	Percentage
1984	226	8	3.4
1989	224	10	4.3
1991	203	31	13.2
1996	224	10	4.3
2001	223	11	4.7

So, the women members in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly have been consistently below 8 percent. Because there is no reservation of seats for women in both the Parliament and the State Legislature.

The foregoing study reveals that through reservation in local bodies a total number of 44,261 women are getting an opportunity to actively participate and execute various basic needs of the people. It is a welcome trend and it makes the women self confident and in course of time more and more women will get Political training which will ultimately increases women's active participation and involvement in politics. Then secondly 30 percent reservation to women in government jobs from 1989 onwards attracted and motivated the women to higher education in all subjects. In the early period women preferred to join mostly in the Teaching and Medical profession. But, now because of the reservation policy they are joining in all courses like Engineering, Aeronautics etc. in the earlier period only meant for men. Today the government recruited a large number of women in the police department and established separate women Police Stations. These employment opportunities provided to the women indirectly encourages women's education. Because, they have the hope and scope to get employment. Not only that this official position and economic independence lead them to power.

So, women reservation in Local Self governments and Government departments not only increases the women's participation in politics and administration and not only increases the literacy rate of women but also the status of our Country particularly Tamil Nadu. It is very proud to say that the government is very concerned about the well being of the weaker section. But, at the same time women should bear in mind that the society wanted to empower women because in its view women are kind, polite, patient and honest. But in the previous term of Local bodies (1996 – 2001) in Tamil Nadu 140 panchayats were dissolved for corruption in that 90 Panchayats were headed by women. This is not empowerment. This is not achievement and this not development. Recently, I watched a TV programme in which the Deputy Commissioner of Police Mr. Cylendra Babu, I.P.S., answer the questions raised by the viewers in the programme of face to face. In that programme most of the viewers complained that in women police station the women police are using unparliamentary, indecent and filthy language and above all they too demanded money. Several magazines also revealed this.

Last but not the least one, on 24th March I attended a "One day consultation with Women Councilors of Chennai Corporation and other Municipalities to strengthen Urban Local Government" conducted by the

Human Rights Development and Research Organisation. Really, I was terribly shocked to watch the conduct of the Women Councillors there. When one women councilor came before the mike and narrated the problems faced by the councilors in general, immediately a group of women councilors ran towards the stage, shouted, challenged her physically a scene that generally happened in the men dominated Legislatures and Parliament. The society believes that through empowerment and reservation it will increased the presence of women in each and every organization with a view to abolish or to control the malpractice, maladministration and misbehaviour. But, in practice we have seen the contrast. This is because a very small number of misguided women have a wrong notion about the concept of equality and empowerment. Equality they mean to act like a man, it is not a fault but which type of man they take as their role model? Gandhiji, Nehru, Kamaraj, Abdul Kalam. But they take a local goon, corrupt politicians, bureaucrats as their model. So empowerment does not mean to make a woman as a man. But to make a woman as a social conscious, service minded and above all to work in a decent and cultured way.

In a civilized society, thinkers expect the powers and responsibility to be shared by men and women which not only a sense of equality but with a sense of equanimity. If women abuse the power that is conferred upon them by this misbehaviour and atrocious conduct, the society may be forced to think of its progressive measures in a negative way.

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24

Atrocities on Women - Role of Police in Tamil Nadu

DR. K. USHA

Women play multiple roles in society. Women's studies arose out of a need to improve the position of women. The academic courses dealt with the discrimination faced by women both historically and structurally. These discriminations which at first were acceptable gradually became non-acceptable. For more than a decade now, the world's attention is getting increasingly focused on the status and conditions of women. Their particular concerns and issues, their social and familiar position, the disabilities in the way of other enjoyment of rights and opportunities, have become the subject of developmental and academic activities.

In India too, such activities received a fillip with the U. N. Declaration of the World Conference of International Women's Year at Mexico in 1975 and the publication of the status of women Committee's (1971-74) Report in 1975. The latter report saw the beginning of a whole lot of activities, both by public mined organizations as well as Government agencies to understand and analyze the suppressed status of women, to trace its origins and manifestations and to grapple with measures for remedying it. One major field of activity identified in the context was education, both towards increasing women's literacy and knowledge, as well as education on women's concerns and social position. This has come to be known as women's studies.

The first National Conference of Women's Studies was convened in Bombay in 1981. It led to the birth of the Indian Association of Women's Studies – a national organization that seeks to bring together academics,

activists, policy makers and administrators in the cause of women's development. It has ever since, sought to focus the attention of the nation, the need to promote better understanding of women's issues.

Present circumstances in our society reveal some eye opening facts about the status and conditions of women in our country. Since independence many constitutional measures and welfare programmes have been implemented in our country. In spite of all these measures and welfare programmes, Indian women have not been able to enjoy equal status as citizens of free India. In order to carry out the activities to fight against the rigid customs prevalent in the society, some leaders established women institutions in the country, which provide effective platform for women welfare and emancipation work. A number of voluntary women's organizations had become active for the emancipation of women.

Thus, there are many organizations and institutions created in the society to deal with the activities related to welfare of women. But violence against women has become a common phenomena. Crime, no doubt, is a complex social problem but in recent decades, it has achieved new dimensions and has brought within its teeth children, youth and women.

Crime committed against women, which has attracted the attention of the press and the general public, over the last four decades, are rape, dowry atrocities, molestation of women and eve teasing, kidnapping and abduction and immoral traffic in women and girls. Increase in the incidence of these crimes can be traced to several factors.

Widening spheres of occupational and social activities, free mixing of men and women, in all walks of life, led to of adultery and clandestine prostitution. They are accepted as normal features of the changing society. The control of husbands over their wives and the control of fathers over their daughters has been loosened. Incidence of divorce and separation is also on the increase. Husbands have, not infrequently, betrayed their wives, tortured and even killed them for the sake of dowry. Suicide rates among Indian women are perhaps the highest in the world.

Dowry is a social evil which shows no sign of disappearing. Giving and taking of dowry are now cognizable offences with imprisonment upped from a maximum of six months to two years. Cruelty to women including coercion for dowry is also a criminal offence. Every unnatural death of a married women in the first seven years of her marriage must be investigated by the police and magistrates. But despite these measures few are convicted. Brushing aside sheaves of legislation, it has spread like a plague across the country.

The phenomenon of bride burning is almost routine and the incidence of suicide by married women, committed indoors is passed on as "kitchen accident." Neighbours who hear or even see the crime do not want to get involved. Though statistics of dowry atrocities are not available on the basis of religion, the disease has spread from Hindus to Sikhs, Muslims and Christians.

The scourge of rape continues to wreck havoc on the nation's thousands of innocent women. The legislators, the journalists and women's movement are hard put to suggest measures to halt the rising trend. Gang-rape by men on women is not unknown.

In rape cases, it is impossible to get eye witnesses because of the nature of the crime. There have been several questions regarding lack of evidence in such cases of assault against women, it is for this reason, perhaps, that the Supreme Court decided that corroboration is not essential in cases of rape.

Measures to prevent rapes are necessary. The circulation of pornographic films, literature, and advertisements must be completely banned under law and heavy punishment inflicted on those found violating the laws.

Dowry atrocities range from physical and mental torture of brides in various forms of being insufficiently dowered. These includes domestic violence like bride beating, bride burning, suicide and to murder by their husbands and in-laws. Cases of dowry deaths are punishable under Section 304-B IPC.

The pressure of larger dowries may be attributed to the general rise in prices and the current obsession with gold and silver, the prices of which are rising almost everyday. Education has become expensive. Parents who spend a sizeable part of their earnings in educating their sons regard them as investments to yield returns; they expect to realize the first and the fattest dividend at their son's marriage. If there are unmarried girls in the family dowries brought by sons help parents to utilize a part of them in their daughter's marriage. The price tags attached to eligible bachelors vary according to the bridegroom's qualification and his status in society.

India is the only country in the world where the ratio of women to men has been dwindling over the years. A related statistics reveal that boys are taken to hospital for treatment of common diseases in twice the number of girls. Boys do not fall ill more frequently than girls; they are merely provided with more health care by parents who value sons more than daughters.

India and China are, perhaps, two only two countries where there had been a regular practice of female infanticide.

We are a people who kill female foetus on the one hand and encourage sterile couples to have test-tube babies at great cost on the other. We induce terminally ill patients to volunteer for passive euthanasia but do nothing about the murders of young women for the sake of dowry.

Respect for Indian womanhood and basic human values demand that the Government ban amniocentesis and sex determination tests except where they are conducted in Government supervised hospitals and that too for the sole purpose of detecting genetic disorders as in the West.

Women are subjected to various forms of molestation, physical and mental torture and eve teasing at home, in streets and public places, places of entertainment, campus of educational institutions, prisons, rescue homes, crowded places like markets, melas, festivals, railway platforms and bus stands, running trains and buses, workplace etc. The cases are grossly under-reported because the victims and their parents and guardians avoid to report cases to the police.

Working women are not infrequently subjected to sexual harassment by male employers and male employees in offices, factories, university/college campus, hospitals, etc., women from rescue homes and prisons are sometimes taken out and forced into sexual harassment. These cases are seldom reported to the police unless there is a case of escape or missing.

Molestation of women by policemen during riots and investigation of cases is not unknown. Eve teasing is no longer confined to students and unemployed youth alone.

Today, boys from educated, cultured, enlightened and affluent families, local slums and anti-socials found in every locality, usually in a group, at railway platform, bus stand, tea stalls, pan shops, near girls' schools and colleges, in parks, in places of public entertainments, crowded market places, fetes and fairs, take part in eve teasing. Not infrequently the eve teasers travel in crowded buses and local passenger trains, stand or sit next to ladies and unleash their perverseness. Eve teasers are generally between 15 and 30 years age group and some of them are married. They get a free hand during festivals when pre-festival shopping is on in the puja pandals, which remain crowded with ladies after night fall. When eve teasing is a group activity in which mafia gang is involved, it often assumes violent proportions.

While condemning eve teasing we do not look deep into the matter. What we tend to forget is the factor of provocation coming from the opposite sex. One of the results of modernization is the change that is noticeable among

young women in the modern Indian society. The change has been towards a provocative style of dressing, conversing and walking. It is not that all women behave in identical provocative manner. Protests are rare. Many women consciously or unconsciously invite such hazards. Eve teasing, not infrequently, a two-way traffic. Roots of this social menace can be located in the vulgar, indecent and obscene films and pornographic literature and photographs which influence the young mind; eve teasing is one of the ways to alleviate sex tension by youngsters who are afraid of raping a woman for fear of prison sentence.

All cases of trafficking in women and girls are offence of kidnapping or abduction. They are cognizable and non-bailable offences, and punishment varies between seven to ten years Rigorous Imprisonment (R.I) and fine.

Men and women are born equal and both play vital roles in the creation and development of their families in particular and the society in general. Women is not only the bread distributor but she is also as bread winner. She is working shoulder to shoulder with men. The greatest contribution of the Indian women like her counterpart in other parts of the world is through home, husband and children. The women is and has been the foundation stone of a family in particular and the society in general and if the foundation is not properly maintained the whole building of the human life is bound to crack down. The Constitution of India gave special attention to the needs and problems of women and the Parliament enacted a number of laws to protect women and their interests. Some of the important laws are the Hindu Marriage Act 1955, the Maternity Benefit Act 1961, the Dowry Prohibition Act 1961 (Amended in 1986), the Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls Act 1956 (changed as Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act etc.

In 1993, the National Commission for Women was established under the leadership of the Prime Minister of India.

The major objectives of National Commission for Women are:

1. To investigate, examine and to review all matters relating to safeguard the interest of women under Constitution.
2. Review the implementation of women related legislature laws and suggest amendments wherever needed.
3. To function as an agency to monitor and to remove the grievances of women. The commission can hold the public hearing to listen to the grievances of the affected women. The Chairperson will be nominated by the Central Government amongst the persons of ability and integrity

with the sense of commitment to women's progress. At least one member should be from Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe. The Chairperson will hold office for a period not exceeding 3 years or as specified by the Central Government. The commission appointed many committees from time to time as necessary to deal with special issues.

The National Commission for Women has examined a variety of issues relating to women and brought out reports. Currently it has been working on the Domestic Violence Bill to bring out an Act of Parliament on the subject to curb violence against women in their own homes. There is a strong view that it should be given powers of prosecution to make it more effective. The states were also to establish State Commissions for women under State Legislatures. Currently there are 13 state level commissions for women.

The Tamil Nadu Corporation for Development of Women Limited (DeW) was established in 1983 by the Government of Tamil Nadu with the objective of social, economic and political empowerment of Women.

This Government involve effectively in implementing a *State Policy for Women* that would guide the development policies of all departments and sectors, which helps to eliminate gender gaps and enable women to gain equitable access to resources, decision-making and improved quality of life.

In order to mainstream gender in all Government policies and departments, a ***Women's development report*** including women's development index and women's empowerment indicators will be commissioned annually to measure and evaluate the impact of the Government's pro-women policies and programmes.

The mere existence of laws does not ensure their effective implementation. It is partly the responsibility of the law enforcement agency to see that the laws are enforced in the right spirit. And here comes the role of police as an agent of change. At present, police play a vital role in the implementation of social legislation. Policing in India has traditionally been considered a male domain because the policing activities require physical powers. However, the gradual induction of female members in all walks of life and professions can also be seen in the police forces in India. The rising trend of crimes against women, increasing involvement of women in various crimes and the problems of handling juveniles have stressed the need for women police.

The women police is now an integral part of the police forces all over the country. The Central Reserve Police Force which is a central force of the

Government of India has now a full battalion of women to assist the state police forces in emergent situations. A number of women have joined the Indian Police Service, the Central Police Organizations and the State Police Organizations.

Initially, women police was constituted in 1973 to assist the Tamil Nadu Police to rescue girls, lost children and assist policemen in raids under the Immoral Traffic Prevention Act and for bandobust duties at large gatherings where women congregate.

Creation of All Women Police Stations

With a view to giving immediate relief to women in distress, the Tamil Nadu Government started one exclusive All Women Police Station in Chennai city in 1992. The number of these had been increased to 58 later by 1995 due to the growing popularity among the people of the All Women Police Stations. They were especially well received by the women of Tamil Nadu. These All Women Police Stations have rendered tremendous service to society, particularly to our women. In 2001, the Government announced the creation of additional All Women Police Stations at the rate of one All Women Police Station per sub division. At present, 148 All Women Police Stations are functioning in the state.

Due to the creation of more All Women Police Stations and increased awareness about offences against women, the number of offences reported registered a sharp increase in recent months. This is definitely a positive and welcome development. Mobile counselling centres have been functioning in all units. These centres help women to present their complaints at their door steps and also to create awareness among women about their rights. Specially designed vehicles for these centres have been sanctioned to Range Headquarters and Commissionerates.

The Government of Tamil Nadu has launched a new scheme to aid women in distress. "Women Helpline" units have been ordered to be opened throughout the state. Today "Women Helpline Units" are functioning in most districts of Tamil Nadu. Women police provide prompt help round the clock to women in distress.

Helpline Ideals

Render help with compassion.

Upliftment of Women and Children.

Provide relief to victims.

Provide legal advice to women in distress.

Provide self confidence to insecure women.

Rehabilitate Women Criminals.

Areas of Concern

Dowry harassment

Domestic violence/Problems by in-laws

Alcoholic spouses

Prostitution

Sexual harassment

Problems related to love affairs

Problems related to promiscuity

Female infanticide

Problems arising out of Bigamy

Street fights

Missing Girls/children

Child Harassment

Chennai City Police has a Women Helpline Control Room functioning at Women Police Station, Thousand Lights, Chennai 600 006 since 16.08.2000.

Women Helpline Control Room functions round the clock to attend to distress calls.

Women and children in distress may contact the Women Helpline Control Room at telephone 1091 and 1098 respectively which are toll free throughout the state.

Women Helpline has a counselling centre with professional counsellors attached to it.

With the newly provided facilities like Women Helpline/Child Line and Mobile Counselling, coupled with increased awareness, a large number of cases are being reported.

During 2002, as a result of willingness of the victims to prefer complaints more freely and confidently, a total number of 6077 cases of crime against women have been reported. An increase of 23% in reporting of crime against women is seen. At the same time, a large number of pending trial cases (6797 cases) have been disposed of in courts out of which, as many as

3715 cases ended in conviction, giving a high percentage of conviction of 55%.

Incidence of Crimes Against Women During 2001 and 2002

S. No.	HEADS	2001	2002
1.	Rape (including attempt)	462	512
2.	Kidnapping and Abduction	664	720
3.	Dowry Death	179	247
4.	Cruelty by Husband and his Relatives	851	966
5.	Molestation	1771	1866
6.	Sexual Harassment	1012	1766
	Total	**4939**	**6077**

Tamil Nadu Prohibition of Harassment of Women (Amendment) Act, 2002

The present Government took up on priority basis the task of giving shape to the recommendations of the State Law Commission headed by Justice Thiru. M. M. Ismail, which went into the various provisions of the Tamil Nadu Prohibition of Eve Teasing Act 1998 and gave its recommendations. Even though the word eve-teasing was recommended to continue, this Government endeavoured to incorporate an appropriate terminology which will signify the magnitude of the offence and cruelty suffered by women.

2. The inadequacies of the Prohibition of Eve-teasing Act have been set right by the comprehensive amendments providing for the following:

   a. The word eve-teasing is replaced by Harassment of Women wherever it occurs, either in the title or in the body of the Act. This particular change has introduced an element of focus besides sounding deterrent.

   b. Penalty to harassment of women was only up to a period of one year of imprisonment with or without a fine exceeding Rs.10000/- as per the earlier legislation. Now the punishment is made more stringent by providing for imprisonment for a period up to 3 years and fine which shall not be less than Rs.10000/-

   c. Also, new sections have been introduced as 4A, 4B and 4C, which define and provide for punishment in the event of death and suicide as a result of the harassment besides defining the presumption that

would arise in all cases of harassment death and abetment of harassment suicide.

3. The offence of harassment death is punishable whether it is intentional or with knowledge or out of rashness or negligence. The punishments now prescribed are as below:

4A Harassment Death

i) Offence with intention	Punishment up to imprisonment for life and fine which shall not be less than Rs.50000/-
ii) offence with knowledge	Up to ten years of imprisonment and fine which shall not be less than Rs.50000/-
iii) Offence out of rash and negligent Act	Up to ten years of imprisonment and fine which shall not be less than Rs.25000/-

4B Harassment suicide

Abetment of the offence	Up to ten years of imprisonment and fine which shall not be less than Rs.50000/-

4. The new section 4-C shifts the onus of proof on to the accused in the event of harassment death and abetment of harassment suicide.

5. The punishment under section 5 & 6 have been retained but under section 6 the crew of the public service vehicle or vessel (new addition) have been obliged to take steps to prevent harassment of women in the vehicle or vessel. This obligation is not a mandatory provision in the Act prior to amendment.

6. This amendment act brings in a new element by introducing section 7-A which provides for payment of compensation by the accused person to the victim or her heir. The Courts can then have a wider scope for determining and ordering appropriate compensation under this provision.

7. Therefore the objective of the amendment Act is to make the special enactment effective, deterrent and above all capable of rendering justice to the hapless victims of harassment.

8. This amended act, viz Tamil Nadu Prohibition of Harassment of Woman (Amendment) Act, 2002 came into force from 16th December, 2002.

Though we talk more about women empowerment women are considered subordinate group and there are crimes which are specifically directed at women; and all forms of violence have increased in recent years. Even according to Government statistics, the crime graph against women has registered a sharp increase in all aspects within and outside the family. These include rape, dowry murders, wife beating, widow-burning, sex determination test, female foeticide, female infanticide, witch hunting, virginity test, devadasi system, prostitution, increasing desertions etc. Crime against women agricultural labourers by the goondas of landlords and gang rapes of tribal and dalit women are being used as weapons in the hands of dominant class and caste forces. In fact, many of the crimes are committed by the guardians of law and order. What is being witnessed is also the use of position of economic dominance, to sexually exploit women especially poor women who are forced to sell their bodies to gain or retain employment.

Therefore, there is a need for women and the NGOs to collectively fight these forces, the areas of intervention and strategies of mobilization and change. The roots of women's oppression and unequal position lie deeply within poverty, unequal distribution of resources, illiteracy among women, lack of awareness, irrational attitude of the power hungry, unrecognized and non-cashable work of women at home and in the agricultural sector, concept of a girl/woman as a burden, and more so the non-implementation of laws which reflect the lack of political will of the Government.

There are many factors which are responsible for the ineffectiveness of the laws and increasing atrocities against women. Some of the factors are outlined as follows:

There has been in evidence a wide gap between enactment of laws for the development of various sections of society, including women and in their implementation. Women, like other disadvantaged sections of society, have not fully realized the potential power that laws and legal processes hold for them in matters of development.

There is mass-illiteracy among women. They are not aware about the various protections available to them under the existing laws. They are ignorant of their own rights and they do not have easy access to justice. In fact, they have not yet realized the wider significance of justice in social and developmental terms.

There is public non-cooperation in majority of the cases. In the cases where the women dies in the premises of in-laws, the complaints are made by her parents who are not able to prove any evidence to back their allegations.

The role of the police is absolutely crucial, but there is complete lack of interest in following the cases seriously. The valuable evidence is lost at the initial stages which makes conviction difficult. The delay in lodging the complaint and lack of interest on the part of the police makes the law not only in-effective but like a dead letter meaningless for the masses.

There is usually delay in the police investigations, especially in the serious cases of rape or murder. Moreover, rapes, murders or other crimes against women are committed in privacy. Therefore, in majority of the cases there is hardly any eye-witness and the entire case depends on the circumstantial evidence, which again makes conviction very difficult.

In order to check physical violence, sexual violence and other types of crimes against women, we feel that mere laws with what so every teeth such laws may be, cannot achieve the objective unless a proper and effective machinery is devised for enforcement of such laws. Moreover, the cooperation of the people is also essential for the effective implementation of the social welfare legislations for which awareness about such laws should be created among the masses. There must be effective investigating machinery and the investigation must automatically start whenever any crime against women is committed. The investigating officers must be especially trained in this field of criminal justice system. The delay in the trials should be avoided and every attempt must be made to punish the guilty, while the events are fresh in the public. Further, the sentence must be tailored to meet the needs of the individual offenders and the surrounding circumstances should also be taken into consideration.

Thus in a welfare state, the sphere of activities of police is expanding everyday.

The field of executive police functions in a welfare state like India is enormous and covers every branch of civil administration. In whatever direction human conduct has to be regulated, it comes within the sphere of police functions..It protects human life, property, honour, religion and everything that man has. Thus one can consider the police department as the back bone of the Government administrative apparatus, without which nothing works and there will be chaos and confusion. All other departments and their personnel can exercise their functions and responsibilities, only if there is

order and peace. The department that maintains order and peace is the police department.

Hence, it is also the main duty of the police in general, particularly women police to take more efforts to deal with the ratio of crimes against women and the functioning of the administration of criminal justice needs immediate change in the line of preventive mode. (Prevention is said to be the most desirable crime control programme for offence against women). So to preserve and protect womanhood police work should be proactive rather than reactive.

The prime duty of the state is to protect its citizens and promote growth, sustained development and social justice. It is required to defend its citizens from enemies within and enemies without. Both protection and equity-driven development are essential and, in order to achieve the goals of welfare, peace and order have to be ensured. Otherwise development just cannot take place.

In the ultimate analysis, good, humane, honest and effective policing is the very essence of civilization and to ensure that our democracy is real, our liberty is meaningful and our society is peaceful and orderly.

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